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OCCASIONAL PAPERS
READ BY MEMBERS AT
MEETINGS OF THE
SAMUEL PEPYS CLUB



The Samuel Pepys Club

Founded 26th May, 1903

OCCASIONAL PAPERS
READ BY MEMBERS AT
MEETINGS OF THE
SAMUEL PEPYS CLUB

EDITED BY THE PRESIDENT



VOLUME I

1903-1914

LONDON: PRINTED FOR THE CLUB
AT THE CHISWICK PRESS

1917

PREFACE

ON the evening of the 26th of May 1903—the two hundredth anniversary of the death of Samuel Pepys—Sir Frederick Bridge, Mr. D'Arcy Power, Mr. George Whale, and Mr. Henry B. Wheatley dined together at the Garrick Club, and unanimously passed the following resolution: “Resolved that a Pepys Dining Club be formed during the present year.”

Well-known admirers of Pepys and his immortal Diary were at once invited to join the new Club, and the response was prompt and enthusiastic. On Wednesday, 8 July, the first business meeting of the members was held, when certain resolutions were passed, and a President, Treasurer, Secretary, and Executive Committee were elected. The membership was strictly limited to seventy (the age of Pepys at his death) and that number has always been maintained during the fourteen years of its existence.

On Tuesday, 1 December 1903, the first dinner of the Club was held by permission of the Clothworkers' Company in their grand hall, and was a brilliant success.

The publications of the Samuel Pepys Club have hitherto been confined to the illustrated programmes of Songs selected by Sir Frederick Bridge and sung at its Meetings. They form a valuable record of the Music of Pepys's time, and of the special feature of the Club's dinners, which has made these Meetings so uniformly successful.

It has, however, always been intended that some further record of the Club's proceedings should be printed, so that when the scourge of war overtook our country in 1914, and our dinners were suspended for a time, steps were taken to produce a volume of "Occasional Papers" read at our Meetings. By the kindness of the authors we are able to produce in this small, but handsome volume, a tribute to the memory of a great public servant and unique diarist. It is hoped that the Members will appreciate the production of the volume as evidence that although its meetings had to be suspended for a time, the Club is as thoroughly alive as it has ever been. We may confidently hope to continue our Transactions with success, and we need not anticipate any lack of valuable matter in the future.

Mr. Lionel Cust, of whose great interest in the Club we have so many instances, has collected a large amount of important genealogical material relating to Pepys and his connections, which he has kindly placed at the disposal of the Club.

We should have been pleased to issue some portion of this material in the present volume, but the funds at our disposal would not permit. It is hoped, however, that we may be able to print these collections in a second volume.

The papers have not been printed in the order of reading, which may be seen from the Chronological List of Meetings at the beginning of the volume, but they are divided into two groups: (1) Papers relating generally to Pepys's Life and Occupations; (2) Papers on subjects more particularly illustrative of the Diary.

The last paper which completes the volume (read on the anniversary of Pepys's birthday, 23 February 1916) contains an attempt to show the gradual but sure growth of Pepys's Fame.

The illustrations in the volume are of much interest, especially the reproductions of the drawings made by Mr. Samuel Pepys Cockerell to illustrate his paper on "Some Distinctive Features in Pepys's Portraits." Other illustrations here used have already appeared in the programmes of the Meetings.

Outside its own particular work the Club has been proud to act as the representative of Mr. Pepys in a small duty, which would have appealed to him: that of restoring the portrait of the great Dr. John Wallis, F.R.S., by Sir Godfrey Kneller, with its beautiful contemporary silvered frame, which Pepys presented to the University of Oxford as one of the latest

public actions of his life. When a few years ago a general renovation of the portraits in the Bodleian Gallery was carried out, it was suggested that the Samuel Pepys Club might do its part. Therefore in 1905 it took upon itself the expense connected with this particular portrait, the Members subscribing a sum of £25 4s. for this special purpose.

The Club is now in the fourteenth year of its existence, and it has to deplore the loss since its foundation of many devoted Members. Death has deprived us of several of our honorary Members, viz., Miss Cockerell, the representative of the Pepys Cockerell family; Edward, 8th Earl of Sandwich, representative of Pepys's patron, the 1st Earl, and two masters of Magdalene College, Cambridge—the Rev. Lord Braybrooke and the Rev. Dr. Donaldson, who all took much interest in the Club. The death roll among the ordinary members contains the honoured names of J. B. Atlay, Judge Bacon, Paul Bevan, Sir William Bousfield, George Chatterton, S. P. Cockerell, jun., Charles Critchett, Dr. W. H. Cummings, Dr. G. H. R. Dabbs, Dr. Francis Elgar, Sir Laurence Gomme, J. Eliot Hodgkin, Joseph Knight, Sir John Knox Laughton, Alfred H. Littleton, F. G. Hilton Price, Sir Owen Roberts, Dr. John Todhunter, Robert Walters, Sir William White, K.C.B., E. D. J. Wilson, Lt.-Col. W. T. Wright, and Sidney Young. All these were true Pepysians, and their memory will ever live in the hearts of their

fellow members; for ours has always been a true brotherhood of friends united in the one object of cherishing the name of a great Englishman.

I have the pleasure of expressing my cordial thanks to all those who have kindly assisted me in the compilation of this volume and I especially thank my friend Mr. John Hassall, R.I., for allowing me to reproduce his humorous drawing of Mr. Pepys's spirit in his Library.

H. B. W.

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THE SAMUEL PEPYS CLUB

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF MEETINGS

1903

1 December. Inaugural Dinner at the Clothworkers' Hall.

The music (arranged by Sir Frederick Bridge)¹ consisted of Songs composed by Pepys, Laniere, Henry Lawes, Pelham Humfrey, and Grabu, and Instrumental Music on the flageolet, recorder, and trumpet marine performed by the Rev. F. W. Galpin. The Vocalists were Miss Stella Maris and Mr. Bertram Mills.

Pepys's song, "Beauty Retire" (the words from Davenant's "Siege of Rhodes") was the first in the programme.²

One of the quotations on the programme from the Diary (28 June 1660) was thoroughly appropriate to this brilliant opening meeting of the Club: "To Clothworkers' Hall to dinner. Our entertainment very good, a brave hall, good company, and very good music."

The Master of the Company (Mr. A. W. Snow), *ex officio* Honorary Member, did the members of the Club the honour of dining with them.

1904

26 March. Second Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel, Jermyn Street. The music consisted of songs by Dr. Coleman, H. Lawes, and

¹ Sir Frederick Bridge arranges and directs the music at all the meetings.

² "Beauty Retire" is sung at all the dinners, immediately after the sentiment of "The Immortal Memory of Samuel Pepys" has been drunk in solemn silence.

W. Lawes. The vocalists were Miss Stella Maris and Mr. Bertram Mills. The Treasurer (Mr. D'Arcy Power) read a Paper entitled, "Who Operated on Mr. Pepys?" (see page 58).

The President and Sir Frederick Bridge made some remarks on Davenant's "Siege of Rhodes," 1656, 1663 (see page 130).

9 July. Third Meeting. Luncheon in Magdalene College Hall, Cambridge. Mr. C. B. Rootham, Mus. D., Organist of St. John's College, sang "Beauty Retire," and Dr. J. R. Tanner, Fellow of St. John's, read a Paper on "Pepys's Official Correspondence" (see p. 41).

A visit to the "Bibliotheca Pepysiana 1724" was much appreciated by the members, and this meeting was a memorable incident in the history of the Club.

The Master of the College (the Rev. Dr. Donaldson), *ex officio* Honorary Member, honoured the Club with his presence at the Luncheon.

After the Luncheon a copy of the Pepys cup, belonging to the Clothworkers' Company, was presented to the Master of Magdalene by the Master-designate of the Company (Mr. William Bousfield, member of the Club).

3 December. Fourth Meeting. Dinner at the Imperial Restaurant (Oddenino's), Regent Street. The music consisted of songs by W. Lawes, H. Lawes, Pelham Humfrey, Matthew Locke, Lanieri, and John Banister. The vocalists were Miss Beatrice Dunn, Mr. Graham Smart, and Mr. Dan Price.

At this dinner was sung by Mr. Smart and Mr. Price for the first time a very fine "Dialogue between Apollo and Neptune occasioned by the unfortunate death of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Sandwich." It is taken from Pepys's Collection of Manuscript Music in the Pepysian Library, and had been the subject of much discussion as to the composer, with no result. Lately, however, the President was successful in finding that the "Dialogue" was composed by the famous Matthew Locke. It is printed in the "First Book" of "Choice Ayres, Songs & Dialogues to sing to the Theorbo-Lute, or Bass Viol, being most of the

Newest Ayres and Songs sung at Court and at the Publick Theatres composed by several Gentlemen of His Majesties Music and others, the second edition corrected and enlarged. London Printed by W. Godbid and are to be sold by John Playford near the Temple Church, 1675."

The music is there stated to be by Matthew Locke, but the author of the words is unknown.

Mr. Egerton Castle read a paper on "Gladiatorial Stage Fights in the time of Pepys" (see p. 94).

1905

31 March. Fifth Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel. Songs by H. Lawes, Pelham Humfrey, and M. Locke, were sung by Miss Kate Cherry and Mr. Daniel Price. Dr. John Todhunter read "An Unpublished Passage from Pepys's Diary," which contained a characteristic account of the Diarist's visit to a dinner of the Sette of Odd Volumes in November 1895, written in an admirable imitation of his best manner. This was printed as one of the *Opuscula* of the Sette.

30 November. Sixth Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel. *Shakespeare Evening*. Songs by T. Morley, R. Johnson, J. Wilson, Pelham Humfrey, J. Banister, M. Locke, were sung by Miss Winifred Marwood and Mr. Montague Borwell.

Sir Sidney Lee read a Paper on "Pepys and Shakespeare," which was privately printed by Mr. Charles Plumptre Johnson for presentation to his Fellow Members in 1906. It was originally printed in the "Fortnightly Review," January 1906.

On this evening the remarkable recitation of Hamlet's soliloquy, "To be or not to be," transferred from Pepys's Music Book, was sung, for the first time since Pepys's time, by Mr. Borwell. The composer of this fine piece is unknown, but Pepys tells us on 13 November that he was learning to recite the speech.

1906

3 April. Seventh Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel. Songs of the seventeenth century, sung by Miss Winifred Marwood and Mr. Graham Smart.

Mr. Frank Sidgwick read a paper on the Collection of Ballads in the Pepysian Library (see p. 47).

14 July. Eighth Meeting. Visit to Huntingdon, Brampton, and Hinchbrook. Luncheon at the George Hotel. After visiting the Grammar School where Oliver Cromwell and Samuel Pepys were scholars, and the Bridge, often mentioned in the Diary, the party visited Pepys's house at Brampton, and "Beauty Retire" was sung in the front garden.

The Earl of Sandwich (Honorary Member of the Club) received the members at Hinchbrook, where there is much to see of the greatest interest; in the house historical treasures are in every room, outside relics of the old Benedictine nunnery, and the beautiful gardens.

The "Dialogue between Apollo and Neptune" by Matthew Locke, already alluded to as written on the death of Edward, 1st Earl of Sandwich, was sung in the Drawing Room.

After tea in a tent in the gardens the party returned to town, having spent a delightful day, due to the kindness of Lord Sandwich.

6 December. Ninth Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel. Pepys's composition, "It is Decreed," was one of the songs presented for the first time, besides songs by W. Lawes, John Banister, T. Morley, and H. Lawes. The vocalists were Miss Winifred Marwood and Mr. Montague Borwell. The paper read was "Pepys and the City of London," by Sir Francis Haydn Green, Bart. (see p. 112).

1907

3 May. Tenth Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel. Songs by Banister, Lawes, J. Jenkins, and Edward Coleman, sung by Miss Oswyn

Jones and Mr. Graham Smart. A paper on "The Manuscript Diary of William Blackborne, 1716-19," was read by Mr. S. P. Cockerell, F.S.A.

ABSTRACT

William Blackborne was the nephew of Robert Blackborne, often mentioned in Pepys's Diary, and therefore cousin of William Hewer, whose mother was sister of Robert Blackborne. The spelling of the name is not of much consequence. Blackborne is the more correct, but Pepys always spells it Blackburne. In Pepys's Diary he writes (27 Nov. 1660): "Soon as dinner was done my wife took her leave and went with Mr. Blackburne and his wife to London to a christening of a Brother's child of his on Tower Hill. This may have been William, son of James Blackborne. Another connection with Pepys is found in the fact that William's sister married Archdeacon Samuel Edgeley of Wandsworth, whose daughter Anne became the wife of John Jackson, Pepys's nephew and heir. Frances Jackson, eldest daughter of John and Anne Jackson, and residuary legatee of her great uncle Samuel Pepys, married John Cockerell of Bishop's Hull, co. Somerset. This is the connection between the families of Pepys and Blackborne that accounts for the presence of this diary in the hands of Pepys's representatives. William Blackborne married a Miss Austen when he came into possession of the manor of Brittons in the parish of Hornchurch, Essex, close to Dagenham. The date of the manuscript is long after Pepys's death, and there is only one reference to him in it.

"1719 Feb. 3. Went with brother Abraham to Doctors Commons and read the wills of Mr. Hewer and Mr. Pepys and Mrs. Skinner."

Two other entries relate to John Jackson.

"June 4. Went to see Mr. Jackson's new house at Clapham."

"June 5. We went to the top of Mr. Jackson's house, and saw Mr. Whiston's fire balls, which were cast up in the air at Hampstead at night."

"Nephew Hewer" is often mentioned in Blackborne's Diary. This was Hewer Edgeley Hewer, brother to Mrs. Jackson. He was first Hewer Edgeley, being son of Archdeacon Edgeley and godson to William Hewer, but on becoming heir to the latter he adopted his surname and became Hewer Edgeley Hewer. It was he who erected the monument to William Hewer in Old Clapham Church.

November 26. Eleventh Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hall. Sir Frederick Bridge arranged a series of selections from "La Guitarre

Royalle, composée par Francisque Corbett [Francesco Corbetta] 1671. The vocalists were Miss Winifred Marwood, Miss Blodwen Thomas, and Mr. Montague Borwell. Sir Frederick's paper on Corbetta is printed on p. 109.

1908

16 June. Twelfth Meeting. Dinner at Barbers' Hall. A Selection of Songs composed by Pelham Humfrey, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, was sung by Mr. Graham Smart. Sir Frederick Bridge played some flageolet tunes of Pelham Humfrey.

Pepys records a visit to the Hall on 27 February 1662-3.

To Chyrurgeons Hall. . . . we walked into the Hall, and there being great store of company, we had a fine dinner and good learned company, many Doctors of Physique, and we used with extraordinary great respect. Among other observables we drank the King's health out of a gilt cup given by King Henry VIII to this Company with bells hanging at it, which everyman is to ring by shaking after he hath drunk up the whole cup. There is also a very excellent piece of the King [Henry VIII] done by Holbein, stands up in the Hall, with the officers of the Company kneeling to him to receive their charter.

The late Mr. Sidney Young, Past Master, who returned thanks for the toast of the Worshipful Company of Barbers, gave an account of the Hall, of the splendid collection of plate, of Holbein's picture, and of Pepys's connection with the Company.

The dining hall where Pepys was entertained has long passed away and the old Court room designed by Inigo Jones is now used as the dining hall.

11 December. Thirteenth Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel. Songs by J. Goodgroome, H. Lawes, William Cæsar, and R. Dering were sung by Miss Oswyn Jones and Mr. Graham Smart. Sir Laurence Gomme exhibited a beautifully carved desk with Oliver Cromwell's arms upon it, formerly belonging to his ancestor, Sir Bernard de Gomme, who, under Charles II and James II filled the offices of Engineer-in-Chief of all the King's castles and fortifications in England

and Wales, Quarter Master General and Surveyor General of the Ordnance. He is mentioned in the Diary (24 January 1666-7). It is a tradition in the family that the desk was presented to Sir Bernard by Richard Cromwell.

1909

6 May. Fourteenth Meeting. Ladies' dinner at Princes' Hotel. Songs by H. Lawes, P. Humfrey, J. Banister, Grabu, and Lanieri were sung by Miss Winfred Marwood and Mr. Montague Borwell. The President addressed the ladies on the character of Samuel Pepys, and Sir Frederick Bridge added some remarks on Pepys's love of music. This, the first Ladies' night, was a great success. There were ninety-three present, thirty members, and sixty-three guests, of whom forty-three were ladies.

3 December. Fifteenth Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel. Songs by H. Lawes and Matthew Locke, and two songs from the MS. Diary of the Earl of Sandwich were sung by Miss Oswyn Jones and Mr. Graham Smart. Mr. F. R. Harris read a paper on "Pepys and the Prize Goods, 1665."

1910

27 May. Sixteenth Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hall. Dr. Joseph Bridge played on the piano the English Bransle or Brawl, the French "Branle des Sabots" and the English Country Dance. Songs by Capt. Henry Cooke, Pelham Humfrey, Dr. John Blow, Louis Grabu, and John Banister, were sung by Miss Oswyn Jones and Mr. Graham Smart. Dr. J. C. Bridge read a paper on Tom Edwards and Captain Cooke (see p. 123).

16 December. Seventeenth Meeting. Ladies' Dinner at Prince's Hotel. Two Folk-songs from Pepys's Collection of Ballads, and some seventeenth-century songs were sung by Miss Beatrice Dunn and Mr. Graham Smart. Selections were played on the following instruments beloved of Pepys: recorder, dulcimer, flageolet, double flageolet, viol,

and spinet. The performers were Miss Bermister (viol), Dr. Southgate. (dulcimer), Mr. Finn (recorder and flageolet), and Sir Frederick Bridge (spinet).

Sir Frederick Bridge said a few words about the music, the instruments, and the players (see p. 104).

Mr. Carmichael Thomas (member) presented each member of the company with a coloured copy of Hales's portrait of Pepys, as well as a printed description from "The Graphic."

1911

5 April. Eighteenth Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel. Lord Buckhurst's ballad, "To all you Ladies now on land," and other ballads from the Pepys Collection, as well as songs by Pelham Humfrey, John Banister, and John Jenkins were sung by Miss Winifred Marwood and Mr. Montague Borwell.

Mr. D'Arcy Power (Treasurer) read a paper, "Reasons for the discontinuance of the Diary" (see p. 64).

1 December. Nineteenth Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel. Three songs by Ben Wallington (mentioned in the Diary), two broadsides of Admiral Benbow, "The Larke" by H. Lawes, and "The Clear Cavalier," arranged by Professor J. C. Bridge were sung by Miss Oswyn Jones and Mr. Graham Smart. Dance tune, "Joan's placket is torn," a pianoforte duet, was played by Sir F. Bridge and Dr. J. C. Bridge. This was the tune played on board "The Royal Charles" when it was taken by the Dutch.

Mr. S. P. Cockerell read "Notes on some distinctive features in Pepys's Portraits" (see p. 37). Mr. Lawrence Weaver read a paper on "Pepys as an Amateur Architect."

ABSTRACT

Pepys was so constantly engaged in improving his home that the diary gives a very good impression of the way that the seventeenth-century householder went about such work. Although he was the familiar friend of Christopher Wren



MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY
TO SIR CHARLES HARBORD AND CLEMENT COTTRELL



“THE ROYAL JAMES” AND DUTCH FIRESHIP
AT THE BATTLE OF SOLEBAY MAY 28, 1672

From the Monument to Harbord and Cottrell in Westminster Abbey

and Hugh May, he does not seem to have gone to them for advice. He worked out questions of design and structural problems with Master Kennard, the king's joiner of Whitehall, and a working joiner, Sympson by name. Of the many works mentioned by him, such as the new chimney-piece for his wife's boudoir, the wainscoating of his dining-room, the picture frame for the dining-room chimney-piece (which troubled him because they had made it so "massy"), and the famous book-cases, nothing has survived except the last named, which were made by Sympson. These are now at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

1912

3 June. Twentieth Meeting. Ladies' Dinner at Princes' Hotel. Pepys's patron having died a tragic death at the battle of Solebay, 28 May 1672, this meeting was devoted to the memory of the first Earl of Sandwich. "The Dialogue between Apollo and Neptune"; a Spanish song translated by Lord Sandwich, and songs by Henry Lawes and J. Goodgroome were sung by Mrs. Hollis and Mr. Graham Smart. Two pieces from "The Royal Consort" by William Lawes, and "Two Suites" by William Gregorie for viols were performed by students of Trinity College of Music. Airs for the flageolet from Thomas Greeting's "The Pleasant Companion," 1675, were taken by Mr. John Finn. Mr. F. R. Harris gave an account of evidence of Lord Sandwich's love of music from his Journals and Correspondence, and Sir Frederick Bridge drew attention to Mrs. Pepys's musical studies.

This was the largest meeting of the club, there being present thirty-three members and ninety-three guests.

19 July. Twenty-first Meeting. Visit of the members of the Club to Windsor and Eton. By special permission, granted by His Majesty the King, members of the Club were admitted to the corridor and private drawing rooms in Windsor Castle, to inspect the collections of miniature portraits by Samuel Cooper, and other pictures and objects connected with the reign of King Charles II. The party also visited the Royal Library. Mr. Lionel Cust, C.V.O., member of the Club, received the company at Windsor Castle on behalf of the Lord Chamberlain.

Luncheon was taken at the White Hart Hotel. The members subsequently visited St. George's Chapel and attended the three o'clock service; after which they proceeded to Eton College, and were graciously entertained at tea by the Provost and Fellows in the College Hall. The party specially visited the Lower School where Samuel Pepys had been before them. The Vice-Provost (Mr. Cornish) pointed out the chief treasures in the beautiful library, and when the Provost's lodge was visited the Provost (Dr. Warre) most kindly did the company the honour of conducting them through rooms filled, among other treasures, with the portraits of celebrated Etonians. The members are greatly indebted to Mr. Lionel Cust for the admirable arrangements made by him on this full day for their pleasure.

10 December. Twenty-second Meeting "in Commemoration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Royal Society (1662-1912), of which Samuel Pepys was President, 1684-6. Dinner at Princes' Hotel.

The toast of The Royal Society was proposed by Sir William H. White, K.C.B., F.R.S., and responded to by the President of the Society (Sir Archibald Geikie, K.C.B., D.C.L.), who enlarged upon the interest of the association of Pepys with the Royal Society.

The music consisted of songs harmonized by Thomas Greatorex, F.R.S., Song, "I pass all my hours," words by Charles II, Patron R.S., Echo Song from "The Tempest" as altered by John Dryden, F.R.S., and other songs. The vocalists were Miss Winifred Marwood, Miss Marjorie Lockey, Mr. Avalon Collard, and Mr. Montague Borwell.

The following Fellows of the Royal Society were among the guests: Sir William Geikie, K.C.B., President, Professor F. Blackman, D.Sc., Sir William Crookes, O.M., D.Sc., Professor A. R. Cushny, M.D., William Duddell, Sir William Thiselton Dyer, K.C.M.G., Sir David Ferrier, M.D., Archibald E. Garrod, M.D., Sir David Gill, K.C.B., Henry Head, M.D., and Sir William Ramsay, K.C.B.,



FRONTISPIECE TO SPRAT'S HISTORY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY

Engraved by Hollar, 1667

1913

28 April. Twenty-third Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel. Songs composed by two of Charles II's Masters of Music, Banister and Grabu, Vocalists, Miss Winifred Marwood, and Mr. Montague Borwell. The paper read was on "The Portraits of Samuel Pepys," by Mr. Lionel Cust, C.V.O. (see p. 15).

17 December. Twenty-fourth Meeting. Dinner at Prince's Hotel. Songs by Capt. Silas Taylor, Henry Purcell, John Jenkins, Dr. John Blow, Ballad on the Popish Plot and "Bowe Bells" Carol arranged by Sir F. Bridge were sung by Miss Oswyn Jones, Miss May Sircom, Mr. Avalon Collard, and Mr. Graham Smart. The President read a paper on "Samuel Pepys and the Popish Plot."

1914

1 April. Twenty-fifth Meeting. Dinner at Princes' Hotel. Songs by Purcell, C. Dibdin, J. Banister, Henry Lawes, and J. Dowland, and an Evening Hymn, the words by Dr. William Fuller, Bishop of Lincoln, and the music by Henry Purcell. Vocalists, Miss Coral Peachey, Mr. Sidney Coltham, and Mr. Graham Smart.

Papers were read by Sir Ernest Clarke on a "Clerical Friend of Pepys" (Bishop Fuller, see p. 144), and by Mr. S. P. Cockerell, jun., on "The False Messiah, Sabbatai Zevi" (see p. 151).

This was the last meeting of the Club before the war.

PAPERS READ AT THE MEETINGS

I

NOTES ON THE PORTRAITS OF SAMUEL PEPYS

BY LIONEL CUST, LITT.D., C.V.O.

Read 28 April 1913

TO all members of the Samuel Pepys Club the portraits of our eponymous hero must have a somewhat sacred interest. Indeed the likeness of Mr. Pepys is so familiar to us all, that it needs no description, and it will be sufficient to say that the portraits and the Diary both illustrate the man and corroborate each other. Our President and Mr. S. Pepys Cockerell have already gone so exhaustively into the question of the portraits of Samuel Pepys and his wife, that it may seem presumptuous to try to add anything on my account. Still we all have our own views, and my only excuse for dealing with the subject at all lies in having some new suggestions to make.

It is unlucky that Pepys had sat so seldom for his portrait before his failing eyesight compelled him to abandon his diary. As an affectionate, if not too faithful, husband, he spent much time and money on portraits of Mrs. Pepys, and even on his father's portrait, but with these we must not deal in this essay.

Quite early in the diary we find Pepys associating with artists, and buying pictures for his house at Crutched Friars. One friend of his was a painter, evidently young, called Salisbury, who on 25 January 1660-1 came to see Pepys to show him

my Lord's picture in little, of his doing. And truly it is strange to what a perfection he is come in a year's time.

On 25 March following

after dinner comes Mr. Salisbury to see me, and shewed me a face or two of his paynting, and indeed I perceive that he will be a great master. I took him to Whitehall with me by water, but he would not by any means be moved to go through bridge, and so we were fain to go round by the Old Swan. To my Lord's and there I showed him the King's picture, which he intends to copy out in little.

It is clear, however, that Pepys did not sit to Salisbury for his portrait, and Salisbury passes out of the story, and indeed out of history altogether, so that he evidently did not become a very great master.

In 1661, the same year, on 23 November we find Pepys going from his office

by coach with Commissioner Pett to Cheapside to one Savill, a painter, who I intend shall do my picture and my wife's.

Four days later Pepys adds a little domestic colour to a visit.

This morning our maid Dorothy and my wife parted, which though she be a wench for her tongue not to be borne with, yet I was loth to part with her, but I took my leave kindly of her and went out to Savill's, the painter, and there sat the first time for my face with him: thence to dinner with my Lady.

Mrs. Pepys evidently did not accompany him.

On 3 December—

To the Paynter's and sat and had more of my picture done; but it do not please me, for I fear it will not be like me.

And on 4 December—

After dinner by water to Cheapside to the painter's and there found my wife, and having sat a little, she and I by coach to the Opera and Theatre.

The next day he sat again for the fourth time
but it do not yet please me, which do much trouble me.

On 13 December Mrs. Pepys sat for the first time to Savill, while her devoted husband

stood looking on a pretty lady's picture, whose face did please me extremely.

December 19 was, however, a black day, for Pepys makes the following confession.

This morning my wife dressed herself fine to go to the christening of Mrs. Hunt's child, and so she and I on the way in the morning went to the Paynter's, and there she sat till noon, and I all the while looking over great variety of good prints which he had, and by and by comes my boy to tell us that Mrs. Hunt has been at our house to tell us that the christening is not till Saturday next. So after the Paynter had done, I did like the picture pretty well, and my wife and I went by coach home, but in the way I took occasion to fall out with my wife very highly about her ribbands being ill matched and of two colours, and to very high words, so that, like a passionate fool, I did call her whore, for which I was afterwards sorry.

The pictures were now nearly finished, and on 31 December Pepys tells us, that

My wife and I this morning to the Paynter's and there she sat the last time, and I stood by and did tell him some little things to do, that now her picture, I think, will please me very well, and after her, her little black dogg sat in her lap and was drawn, which made us very merry.

On 6 January 1662, Twelfth Day, Pepys writes

This morning I sent my lute to the Paynter's, and there I staid with him all the morning to see him paint the neck of my lute in my picture, which I was not pleased with after it was done.

On 24 January Pepys went to his painter's,

and there I saw our pictures in the frames, which please me well. Thence to the Wardrobe, where very merry with my Lady, and after dinner I sent for the pictures thither and mine is well liked; but she is much offended with my wife's, and I am of her opinion, that it do much wrong her, but I will have it altered.

My Lady's word was evidently law, for four days later we find Pepys going

this morning (after my musique practice with Mr. Berkenshaw) with my wife to the Paynter's, where we staid very late to have her picture mended, which at last is come to be very like her, and I think well done, but the Paynter, though a very honest man, I found to be very silly as to matters of shadows, for we were long in discourse, till I was almost angry to hear him talk so simply.

Perhaps the painter got a little angry, too!

All's well that ends well, for on 22 February we hear that to Pepys's house

came Mr. Savill with the pictures, and we hung them up in our dining room. It comes now to appear very handsome with all my pictures.

So well satisfied was Pepys that shortly afterwards he sat again to Savill for his portrait in little, which only appears to have required two sittings from Pepys himself.

On 3 May it was ready, and Pepys went to

the goldsmith's, took my picture in little, which is now done, home with me and pleases me exceedingly and my wife.

On 11 June

This evening Savill the Paynter came and did varnish my wife's picture and mine, and I paid him for my little picture £3 and so am clear with him.

Unluckily, nothing is known of Savill the painter, beyond what we learn from Pepys. We can discern from the entries in the Diary that Savill painted two companion portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Pepys, and also a limning, or portrait in little, of Mr. Pepys. The two former portraits should be recognizable in the case of Mr. Pepys by the introduction of the neck of his lute, and in that of Mrs. Pepys by the lady being seated, with her little black dog on her lap. The portrait of Mr. Pepys has

usually been identified with the small full-length portrait in the possession of Mrs. Frederick Pepys Cockerell, but that of Mrs. Pepys has gone astray, and does not even seem to have been included in the sale of 1848. Mrs. Cockerell's portrait represents Pepys, seated at full length in a chair by a table; a globe is on the floor at his right, and his left hand rests on the table, on which are a compass, a rule, and other instruments, and a guitar. In the background is a window showing a seascape with a ship in sail. It must not be assumed too readily that this picture is the one painted by Savill. All that we know of Savill's portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Pepys is that they were large enough to be hung up in their dining-room, and helped to make it appear very handsome. They were also distinct from the portrait of Mr. Pepys in little done by the same artist.

The fashion for small full-length portraits, brought into vogue in Holland by Gerard Ter Borch, and after him by Caspar Netscher, had hardly made itself felt in England so early as 1662, although it became more prevalent after the return of Sir William Temple from Holland a few years later. The portraits by Thomas de Keyser, Hendrik Pot, and others on a small scale were more direct portraiture than actual *genre*, such as the portraits by Ter Borch and Netscher. A school of portraiture on a small scale was growing up in London under Michael Wright, whose painting did not please Mr. Pepys as it did Mr. Evelyn, and his pupils, Edmund Ashfield and others, but even this school seems to have come into vogue later than 1662.

In fact, the more one examines the small portrait belonging to Mrs. Cockerell, the more convinced does one become that it belongs to a later date. The face is that of an older man than in the portraits by Hayls (or Hales) and Lely; the costume with the heavy wig and loosely knotted cravat is of the Kneller period. The instrument on the table is not a lute, but an unmistakable guitar. The globe and the view of the sea through the window all suggest a date subsequent to the appointment of Mr. Pepys as Secretary for the affairs of the Navy in 1673. The whole

style of portrait is better suited to this date, when, as has been said before, the influence of Netscher was strong in England.

The portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Pepys by Savill are, it is feared, still to be looked for.

Mr. Pepys was fond of artists' society, and interested in their work. On 2 January 1661-2 he writes that he

went forth by appointment to meet with Mr. Grant who promised to bring me acquainted with Cooper, the great limner in little, but they deceiv'd me and I went home and there sat at my lute and singing till almost twelve at night and so to bed.

It was not till more than six years had elapsed, if the Diary can be relied upon as exhaustive, that Mr. Pepys did make acquaintance with Samuel Cooper, who resided in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.

March 30, 1668.

Up betimes, and so to the office, there to do business till about 10 o'clock, and then out with my wife and Deb and W. Hewer by coach to Common-garden Coffee-house, where by appointment I was to meet Harris; which I did, and also Mr. Cooper, the great painter, and Mr. Hales; and thence presently to Mr. Cooper's house to see some of his work, which is all in little, but so excellent as though I must confess I do think the colouring of the flesh to be a little forced, yet the painting is so extraordinary, as I do never expect to see the like again.

Here Mr. Pepys saw divers portraits, and was "infinitely satisfied with this sight," but unluckily, he only resolved "that my wife shall be drawn by him when she comes out of the country," and did not apparently think of sitting for his own portrait to Cooper. Mrs. Pepys in fact did sit to Cooper the following July, but we must all regret that Pepys himself did not do more than make great friends with the painter, and learn to

understand his great skill in musick, his playing and setting to the French lute most excellently; and speaks French and indeed is an excellent man.

Considering, however, that when the limning was completed Cooper had

30*£* for his work—and the chrystal and case and gold case comes to *£*8. 3. 4. which I sent him this night, that I might be out of debt (10 August 1668),

it is perhaps not surprising that Pepys was chary of spending so much money on his own portrait, especially as he had a limning of himself already by Savill.

We may assume that similar considerations of expense would prevent Pepys from thinking of sitting for his portrait to the magnificent Sir Peter Lely, court painter, and successor of Van Dyck. Pepys was, however, acquainted with Lely, and often visited his studio, although care must be taken not to confuse Pepys's visits to Mr. Lilly, the astrologer, with those to Mr. Lilly, the painter.

On 18 June 1662 Pepys tells us how he and Mr. Pett

walked to Lilly's, the painter's, where we saw among other rare things, the Duchess of York, her whole body, sitting in state in a chair, in white sattin, and another of the King, that is not finished: most rare things. I did give the fellow something that shewed them us, and promised to come some other time, and he could shew me Lady Castlemaine's which I could not then see, it being locked up!

Thence to Wright's, the painter's; but, Lord! the difference that is between their two works.

This was John Michael Wright, the Scottish painter, who painted the portraits of the Judges in the Guildhall. Wright had considerable vogue at this date, and his severer, more restrained style is commended by John Evelyn, though it did not appeal to Samuel Pepys.

On 20 October 1662 Pepys seems to have made the acquaintance of the great Sir Peter in person, for he writes:

In so much that after I had done with the Duke, and thence gone with Commissioner Pett to Mr. Lilly's, the great painter, who came forth to us; but believing that I come to bespeak a picture, he prevented us by telling us that he

should not be at leisure these three weeks; which methinks is a rare thing. And then to see in what pomp his table was laid for himself to go to dinner; where among other pictures, saw the so much desired by me picture of my Lady Castle-maine, which is a most blessed picture, and that that I must have a copy of.

Mr. Pepys was always, however, interested in portrait painting, and not afraid to criticize even Lely himself.

On 26 August 1664 he was taken by a lady musician, whose name does not transpire, but whom Pepys describes as

the ugliest beast and plays so basely as I never heard anybody, so that I should loathe her being in my house

to see some pictures

at one Hisemans's, a picture-drawer, a Dutchman, which is said to exceed Lilly, and indeed there is both of the Queenes and Mayds of Honour (particularly Mrs. Stewart's in a buff doublet like a soldier) as good pictures, I think, as ever I saw. The Queen is drawn in one like a shepherdess, in the other like St. Katherine, most like and most admirably. I was mightily pleased with this sight indeed.

Jacob Huysmans, of Antwerp, was a somewhat serious rival to Lely, but although his style of painting is sufficiently distinct, the bulk of his work has been merged in that credited to Lely. The work of Lely and Huysmans, and also that of Michael Wright, can be well studied in the National Portrait Gallery. The portraits of Queen Catherine as a shepherdess, and of Frances, Duchess of Richmond, in soldier's dress, painted by Huysmans, are both still in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace. Huysmans, in fact, became the accredited portrait painter to Queen Catherine.

Mr. Pepys was, as he says, mightily pleased with Huysmans's portraits, and returned to visit him in the following September, when he writes:

Up and by coach to Mr. Povy's . . . thence with him to Westminster by coach to Houseman's the great picture-drawer, and saw again very fine pictures,

and have his promise, for Mr. Povy's sake, to take pains in what picture I shall set him about, and I think to have my wife's. But it is a strange thing to observe and fit for me to remember that I am at no time so unwilling to part with money as when I am concerned in the getting of it most, as I thank God of late I have got more in this month, viz., near £250, than ever I did in half-a-year before in my life, I think.

There is nothing, however, in the Diary to show that either Mr. Pepys or his wife sat for their portraits to Huysmans, and the disinclination to part with his money probably proved too strong for Pepys on this occasion. He did not, however, resist the temptation of having their portraits painted again, for on 15 February 1665-6, we find him plunging *in medias res* as follows:

With her (my wife) and Knipp and Mercer . . . to Mr. Hales the paynter's, . . . Here Mr. Hales begun my wife in the posture we saw one of my Lady Peters, like a St. Katherine. While he painted, Knipp, Mercer, and I sang; and by and by comes Mrs. Pierce, with my name in her bosom for her Valentine, which will cost me money. But strange how like his very first dead colouring is, that it did me good to see it, and pleases me mightily, and, I believe, will be a noble picture.

Feb. 19th. I find my wife gone out to Hales, her paynter's, and I after a little dinner do follow her, and there do find him at worke, and with great content I do see it will be a very brave picture.

Feb. 22nd. I alone stopped at Hales's and there mightily am pleased with my wife's picture that is begun there and Mr. Hill's, though I must [owne] I am not more pleased with it now the face is finished than I was when I saw it the second time of sitting.

Feb. 23rd. Away hence to Mr. Hales's with Mr. Hill and two of the Houblons, who come thither to speak with me, and saw my wife's picture, which pleases me well, but Mr. Hill's picture never a whit so well as it did before it was finished, which troubled me and I begin to doubt the picture of my Lady Peters my wife takes her posture from, and which is an excellent picture, is not of his making, it is so masterlike.

Feb. 24th. So abroad by coach with Mr. Hill, who staid for me to speake about manners, and he and I to Hales's, where I find my wife and her women,

and Pierce and Knipp, and there sung and was mighty merry and I joyed myself in it; but vexed at first to find my wife's picture not so like as I expected; but it was only his having finished one part and not another of the face: but before I went I was satisfied it will be an excellent picture. Here we had ale and cakes and mighty merry and sung my song, which she [Knipp] now sings bravely and makes me proud of myself.

Feb. 27th. My wife and I to Hales's about her picture.

March 3rd. Thence by coach to Hales's and there saw my wife sit; and I do like her picture mightily, and very like it will be, and a brave piece of work. But he do complain that her nose hath cost him as much work as another's face, and he hath done it finely indeed.

March 8th. After dinner I took coach and away to Hales's where my wife is sitting; and indeed her face and necke, which are now finished, do so please me that I am not myself almost, nor was not all the night after in writing of my letters in consideration of the fine picture that I shall be master of.

March 10th. To Hales to have seen our picture but could not get in he being abroad.

March 15th. After dinner (my wife and Mercer and Mrs. Barbary being gone to Hales's before) I and my cozen Anthony Joyce . . . to Harman's house and took him to a tavern, etc. . . . Thence to Hales's where I met my wife and people; and do find the picture, above all things a most pretty picture, and mighty like my wife; and I asked him his price; he says £14, and the truth is I think he do deserve it.

March 17th. At noon home to dinner and presently with my wife out to Hales's where I am still infinitely pleased with my wife's picture. I paid him £14 for it and 25s. for the frame, and I think it is not a whit too deare for so good a picture. It is not yet quite finished and dry so as to be fit to bring home yet. This day I began to sit, and he will make me I think a very fine picture. He promises it will be as good as my wife's, and I sit to have it full of shadows and do almost break my neck looking over my shoulder to make the posture for him to work by.

March 20th. At noon dined in haste, and so my wife, Mrs. Barbary, Mercer, and I by coach to Hales's, where I found my wife's picture now perfectly finished in all respects, and a beautiful picture it is, as almost I ever saw. I sat again and had a great deale done, but whatever the matter is, I do not fancy that it has the ayre of my face, though it will be a very fine picture.

March 23rd. I out by six o'clock by appointment to Hales's, where we fell to my picture presently very hard and it comes on a very fine picture, and very merry, pleasant discourse we had all the morning while he was painting. Anon comes my wife and Mercer and little Tooker, and having done with me we all to a picture drawers hard by, Hales carrying me to see some landskipps of a man's doing. But I do not [like] any of them save only a piece of fruit, which indeed was very fine.

March 24th. Whitehall . . . After the Committee up, I had occasion to follow the Duke into his lodgings, into a chamber where the Duchesse was sitting to have her picture drawn by Lilly, who was there at work. But I was well pleased to see that there was nothing near so much resemblance of her face in his work, which is now the second, if not the third time as there was of my wife's at the very first time. Nor do I think at last it can be like, the lines not being in proportion to those of her face.

1666. March 28th. So by coach to Hales's and there sit again and it is become mighty like. Hither come my wife and Mercer brought by Mrs. Pierce and Knipp, we were mighty merry and the picture goes on the better for it.

March 30th. Thence home and eat one mouthful and so to Hales's and there sat till almost quite darke upon working my gowne which I hired to be drawn in; an Indian gowne, and I do see all the reason to expect a most excellent picture of it.

April 4th. So abroad by coach to Hales's and there sat till night, mightily pleased with my picture, which is now almost finished.

April 6th. Thence to Mr. Hales and there sat, and my picture almost finished, which by the word of Mr. and Mrs. Pierce (who came in accidently) is mighty like and I am sure I am mightily pleased both in the thing and the posture.

April 7th. Thence took her (Bab Allen) by coach to Hales's and there find Mrs. Pierce and her boy and Mary. She had done sitting the first time and indeed her face is mighty like at first dash.

April 9th. Took them to Hales's to see our pictures finished, which are very pretty.

April 13th. So by coach to Mr. Hales's, where it is pretty strange to see that his second doing, I mean the second time of her sitting, is less like Mrs. Pierce than the first, and yet I am confident will be most like her, for he is so curious that I do not see how it is possible for him to mistake. Here he

and I presently resolved going to Whitehall to spend an hour in the galleries there among the pictures, and we did so to our great satisfaction he showing me the difference in the payntings, and when I come more and more to distinguish and observe the workmanship, I do not find so many good things as I thought there was, but yet great difference between the works of some and others; and, while my head and judgment was full of these, I would go back again to his house to see his pictures, and indeed though I think at first sight some difference do open, yet very inconsiderably but that I may judge his to be very good pictures. Here we fell into discourse of my picture, and I am for his putting out the Landskipp, though he says it is very well done, yet I do judge it will be best without it, and so it shall be put out, and be made a plain sky like my wife's picture, which will be very noble.

April 18th. I to Mr. Lilly the painter's [to see portraits of Admirals] . . . Took coach to Mr. Hales, where he would have persuaded me to have had the landskipp stand in my picture, but I like it not, and will have it otherwise, which I perceive he do not like so well, however is so civil as to say it shall be altered.

April 20th. Thence to Mr. Hales's, there though against his particular mind, I had my landskipp done out, and only a heaven made in the roome of it which though it do not please me thoroughly now it is done, yet it will do better than it was before.

April 23rd. Dined at home and took Balty with me to Hales's to show him his sister's picture.

April 28th. After dinner abroad with my wife to Hales to see only our picture and Mrs. Pierce's, which I do not think so fine as I might have expected it.

May 4th. To Mr. Hales to see what he had done to Mrs. Pierce's picture and whatever he pretends, I do not think it will ever be so good a picture as my wife's.

May 9th. So away to my Lord Treasurer's, and thence to Pierce's, where I find Knipp, and I took them to Hales's to see our pictures finished, which are very pretty, but I like not her's half so well as I thought at first, it being not so like, nor so well painted as I expected, or as mine and my wife's are. Thence with them to Cornhill to call and choose a chimneypiece for Pierce's closett, and so home, where my wife in mighty pain and mightily vexed at my being abroad with these women. . . .

May 16th. Thence to Mr. Hales, and paid him for my picture, and

Mr. Hill's, for the first £14 for the picture, and 25s. for the frame, and for the other £7 for the picture it being a copy of his only and 5s. for the frame; in all £22 10s. I am very well satisfied in my pictures and so took them in another coach home along with me, and there with great pleasure my wife and I hung them up, and that being done to dinner.

June 6-7th. To Mr. Hales's where my father is to begin to sit to-day for his picture.

June 13th. To see father's picture.

June 14th. To see father's picture.

June 18th. To see father's picture.

June 20th. To see father's picture now near finished and is very good.

June 27th. I to Mr. Hales's to pay for my father's picture which cost me £10 the head and 25s. the frame.

We learn from George Vertue's Diaries (Brit. Mus. 23072 f. 1), that among the pictures formerly belonging to Secretary Phipps was "Mr. Pepys the father of the Secretary by Hales." From the same source we learn that Col. Seymer possessed "a head in limning in an oval, the picture of Mr. Hayles, painter, done by himself, not well drawn but strongly coloured, this I suppose was one of his essays in water colours with intent to oppose S. Cooper, limner."

John Hales, or Hayls, was evidently a friend entirely congenial to Mr. Pepys. They were often about together, and Pepys had his father, Mrs. Pierce, Mr. Hill, and apparently his friend Mr. Houblon, all painted at his expense by Hales, the purse strings having once been unloosed.

Hales himself was little more than an imitator of Lely, a quite creditable performer, whose work has to be discovered in the less important part of the paintings ascribed by ignorant dealers and owners to Sir Peter Lely himself. Among these, no doubt, will some day be found again the portrait of Mrs. Pepys as St. Katherine. Among also the many unsigned miniatures of the date may be some by Hales, since he posed as a rival to Cooper. He lived in Southampton Street, Bloomsbury, or according to some accounts in Long Acre, and died suddenly in 1679, "dressed in a velvet suit—ready to go to the Lord

Mayor's Feast." A portrait of Hales drawn by George Vertue is in the Print Room at the British Museum.

Pepys had his portrait by Hales copied as appears from the Diary on 15 July 1668.

This day Bosse finished his copy of my picture, which I confesse I do not admire, though my wife prefers him to Browne; nor do I think it like. He do it for W. Hewer, who hath my wife's also, which I like less.

The suggestion that the copyist Bosse was the well-known engraver, Abraham Bosse in Paris, can hardly be adopted. Bosse, possibly Dubosc, was probably a mere hack copyist. Browne is clearly Alexander Browne, the engraver and publisher, who gave Mrs. Pepys lessons in limning in May 1665. Copies of the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Pepys by Hales seem to have been in the possession of William Hewer.

Mr. Pepys, as we all know and all regret, ceased abruptly to keep his diary on 31 May 1669. We cannot therefore rely upon the Diary for any further information as to his portraits. It may be taken for granted, however, that no portraits of Pepys were taken during the period of his Diary, except those already mentioned.

Judging from the age at which Pepys is represented, it must have been soon after the termination of his diary that the fine portrait was painted which is now at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and is usually attributed to Sir Peter Lely, of whose brush it is not unworthy. Pepys is here represented as a comparatively young man, of much the same age as in the portrait by Hales. This portrait did not come to the College from the Jackson family with the Library, but is stated to have been presented by one Mr. Harvey, of Palgrave in Suffolk, though the date has not been recorded by the College. No special history seems to be attached to the portrait, which has at some time been most cruelly damaged, and rather unskilfully repaired. Possibly the former owner of this portrait was the well-known antiquary, "Tom" Martin, of Palgrave, for long the Senior Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, an omnivorous

collector of books and pictures, who was a frequent visitor at Cambridge to his first cousin, Sir James Burrough, Master of Caius College. The question arises: Did Mr. Pepys at this age sit to Sir Peter Lely?

The fact that in spite of opportunities to sit to Cooper, Lely, and Huysmans, Pepys had recourse to John Hales seems to show that Pepys was not in a good enough financial position to sit to the court painter himself. The whole tone of Pepys's remarks about Lely would lead one to suppose that Pepys himself would not have thought of intruding himself on a painter whose habitual sitters were the King, the Duke and Duchess of York, My Lord and My Lady Sandwich, and above all Lady Castlemaine.

At a later age, when his dignity and his fortune were both greater, Mr. Pepys might well have thought it worth while to have his portrait painted by Lely. At the age of the Magdalene portrait, it seems unlikely that he would have done so, or that he could have afforded to pay the price which Lely would have demanded. On the other hand, we have seen that Pepys did admire the work of Jacob Huysmans, did think of giving him a commission, and actually determined to have his wife's portrait painted by this artist. The works of Lely and Huysmans are so often confused, that I venture to hazard a suggestion that the portrait attributed to Lely at Magdalene College was really painted by Jacob Huysmans. In his recent book on Peter Lely and the Stuart portrait painters, Mr. C. H. Collins Baker has pointed out how assiduously Huysmans laid himself out to imitate Lely, in fact to be in the fashion, and how many portraits in Lely's manner, and not unworthy of his brush, may really be attributed to Huysmans. Among these may possibly be classed the portrait of Samuel Pepys at Magdalene College. On the other hand it must be noted that this portrait is in a regular stock Lely posture, and that it is only the alteration in the head which makes it differ from a series of portraits in similar postures, which have been attributed with confidence to the hand, or at all events the studio, of Sir Peter Lely.

There were other painters in London who were likely to excite the curiosity of Mr. Pepys. Among his acquaintances was William Ryley, Lancaster Herald and Clerk of the Tower Records, which latter post had been taken from him owing to his having sided with the Parliament against the King and given to the famous Mr. Prynne, who had done just the reverse, and deserted the Puritan cause for that of the restored Monarchy. Pepys writes on 13 May 1664, referring to some question in the House of Commons about Prynne.

But it is worth my remembrance, that I saw old Ryley the Herald, and his son; and spoke to his son, who told me in very bad words concerning Mr. Prin, that the King had given him an office of keeping the Records . . .

This son was William Ryley, who served under his father at the Record Office.

Another of the sons of William Ryley the Herald was John Ryley, who was probably the father of another John Ryley, who afterwards attained very considerable success as a portrait painter in London, sufficient to attract the notice of Mr. Pepys. John Ryley, or Riley, who was eighteen years old in 1664, was a pupil of Gerard Soest, and belonged to a school quite distinct from that of Lely. He died in 1691 at the age of forty-five, and handed on his work to his assistant Jonathan Richardson, and from him through Thomas Hudson to Sir Joshua Reynolds. A portrait, which came a few years ago into the writer's possession, and which presents a likeness of Mr. Pepys, quite distinct from that of Hales or Kneller, has been pronounced by competent authorities on its own merits to be probably the work of John Ryley.

Mr. Pepys sent a portrait of himself to his friend Mr. Thomas Hill at Lisbon in 1675. As Mr. Hill had himself sat to John Hales about the same time as Mr. Pepys, it may be supposed with some reason, that the portrait sent to Lisbon came from the studio of Hales. If this were a copy, or replica of the portrait by Hales, it may be identical with the

portrait of Mr. Pepys, now in the possession of the Clothworkers' Company, which formerly belonged to Mr. Hawes in Kensington.

A new star had, however, arisen on the horizon in the shape of Godfrey Kneller, who in 1678 obtained the patronage of the King, through the influence of the Duke of Monmouth. As Kneller did not get firmly established in London until a year or two later, he is not likely to have had the patronage of Mr. Secretary Pepys earlier, and therefore cannot have been the painter of the portrait presented to Mr. Hill, or even that presented to Mr. Houblon in 1680. In later years the painter and Mr. Pepys became great friends. It is a matter of history that King James II was sitting for his portrait to Kneller on behalf of Mr. Secretary Pepys on 6 November 1688, when he received the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay. This very picture, a half length in armour, remained in the possession of Pepys at the time of his death, and in that of the Cockerell family until the sale in 1848, when it appears to have been bought in by the family, and is now in the possession of Mr. John Pepys Cockerell. So intimate did Pepys become with Kneller that in March 1702, during a correspondence with Kneller about the portrait of Dr. Wallis, which Pepys had presented to the University of Oxford (see p. vii), Pepys begins a letter with the words "For God's sake (my old friend) look once more over my letter of yesterday."

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that more than one portrait of Mr. Pepys by Kneller exists, some of which are replicas of each other, such as the portraits in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, that in the possession of Mr. John Pepys Cockerell, and that belonging to the Royal Society, and one (evidently a copy) belonging to Dr. Baumgartner of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Richard Rawlinson, who purchased a number of papers relating to Samuel Pepys, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, acquired some from a Mr. Thomas Bowdler, who possessed at the time besides these papers a portrait of Mr. Pepys by Kneller or Riley.

Now these portraits can be dated earlier than 1690, for in that year

the plate engraved by Robert White was in existence, as appears from a letter written by Mr. Pepys to William Hewer on 23 December 1690, referring to "the words at the bottom of my printed head," and giving the passage from Cicero's "Somnium Scipionis," from which the motto, *mens cujusque is est quisque* had been taken. This letter refers to the larger portrait plate, as in the smaller the motto has been removed to the top of the plate above the head.

Mr. Pepys was President of the Royal Society from December 1684 to January 1685-6, and it is probable that he had his portrait painted by Kneller about the latter date.

Among the Pepys portraits sold at Christie's in 1848 was one of Pepys himself by Kneller, stated to have been engraved by R. White, which sold for 10½ guineas. This portrait does not appear to have left the family, as it became the property of the late Mr. Andrew Cockerell, and is in the possession of Mr. John Pepys Cockerell. An exactly similar portrait, however, is at Magdalene College, Cambridge, which corresponds in every way to the engraving. There does not seem to be any documentary evidence to show the date or the provenance of the Cambridge portrait. One would naturally suppose that Pepys himself presented it to the College, or that it came to the College with the Library. All Pepys's pictures, however, were bequeathed to his nephew, John Jackson, and descended from him to the Cockerell family. We are constrained, therefore, to see in Mr. J. P. Cockerell's portrait the one which belonged to Pepys himself.

The portrait belonging to Mr. J. P. Cockerell is painted in a brown oval floriated frame with knots of green leaves, similar to the frames more familiar from the portraits by Lely and Mrs. Beale. The face is ruddy with dark shadows, resembling the style of Gerard Soest, rather than that of Kneller, whose more obvious style is shown in the portrait of John Jackson in the same collection. The companion portrait to that of Pepys is that of William Hewer painted in a similar oval frame. Kneller was, however, in early life a student of Rembrandt, Titian,

Rubens, and other painters, and would not have been unwilling to challenge Lely on his own ground, or to paint portraits in the prevailing fashion. It is unlikely that Kneller, even at the request of so good a friend as Mr. Pepys, would paint three portraits exactly identical, and, if this be accepted, it becomes necessary to look upon the portrait belonging to Mr. J. Pepys Cockerell as the original portrait by Kneller, and those at Magdalene College, and the Royal Society, as copies or replicas, painted perhaps under Kneller's supervision for Mr. Pepys. A similar portrait, now in the possession of Mr. J. R. Baumgartner of Newcastle-on-Tyne, seems to be a copy after the Kneller portrait. This portrait has come to him by family descent from the Pepys family of Impington.

In 1680 Mr. Pepys sent a portrait of himself as a present to his friend, Mr. James Houblon. A portrait preserved by the Houblon family at Hallingbury Place, in Essex, bears the name of Samuel Pepys, and is reproduced in Lady Alice Archer-Houblon's history of the Houblon family. It differs in various respects from any of the portraits already described, so much that one is inclined to discredit the attribution, and to look for the portrait of Pepys elsewhere, among the portraits at Hallingbury, disregarding the inscription on the canvas, which probably dates only from the close of the eighteenth century. This portrait more nearly resembles the portrait of Sir James Houblon, also of Hallingbury, than it does those of Mr. Samuel Pepys. At the same time family tradition is difficult to disturb, and if the portrait be really that of Mr. Pepys, he must have sat to some different painter at the date in question.

The frontispiece to the supplementary volume of Mr. Wheatley's edition represents a portrait at the Admiralty, Whitehall, stated to be that of Mr. Pepys. This portrait was presented by Mr. John Wilson Croker, when Secretary to the Admiralty before 1830, and does not appear to have any history. In the writer's opinion this portrait is not an original portrait of Samuel Pepys, the main characteristics of the face being

different from those of Mr. Pepys. Although the painting bears the date 1687, it can hardly be considered as other than a free copy from the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller. A second portrait of Mr. Pepys at the Admiralty, also presented by Mr. Croker, appears to be a later copy of the same portrait.

The portrait which the present writer, and subsequently Mr. Wheatley, saw at the house of the late Earl of Wemyss in St. James's Place, was shortly after removed and cannot now be traced. Its identification cannot, therefore, be certified.

One of the most important likenesses of Samuel Pepys is the ivory medallion, by J. Cavallier, dated 1688, and now in Mr. John Pepys Cockerell's possession. This is interesting as a work of art and as a portrait—for it shows all the features of Pepys with great accuracy. This is more than can be said for the ivory medallion by D. Le Marchant, in the British Museum, which purports to be the portrait of Samuel Pepys, and is reproduced as the frontispiece to vol. vi of Mr. Wheatley's edition. The profile has a specious resemblance to that of Mr. Pepys, but a comparison between the Le Marchant and the Cavallier medallions must inevitably lead to a doubt as to the medallion by Le Marchant being a portrait of Pepys at all. If it be well authenticated as such it can only be accepted as a portrait at third hand, in which all the most subtle and characteristic features of the face have been lost.

A miniature portrait in the Victoria and Albert Museum bears the name of Samuel Pepys, and has some good claim to represent him. It has already been stated that Savill painted a portrait in little of Mr. Pepys, but the miniature portrait in question seems to show him at a more advanced age. The miniature portrait in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch at Montague House, which is reproduced in Dr. Osmund Airy's monograph on Charles II (Goupil) cannot represent Mr. Pepys.

In 1672 King Charles II founded a mathematical school at Christ's Hospital for forty boys, who were known afterwards as "King's boys." It became the custom to present each year to the King the mathematical

exercises of these boys. One of these events was commemorated by Verrio, the painter, in a large painting, still preserved in the school. A carefully reduced copy of this valuable painting is in the possession of Mr. J. P. Cockerell. It shows James II on the throne, surrounded by Court and other officials, among whom Mr. Pepys can easily be recognized. As a collection of portraiture at this date, this painting is of the highest value, and it would be well worth the time and money of the Samuel Pepys Club to reproduce in facsimile the drawing, which belonged to Mr. Pepys himself.

The same suggestion might be made about the two previous drawings of Mr. Pepys's library, when it was located in York Buildings, Buckingham Street, Strand. These drawings are pasted into the fly-leaves of the MS. catalogue of the Bibliotheca Pepysiana at Magdalene College, and show the number and character of the portraits in Mr. Pepys's own possession, together with other furniture which may still exist and would probably be capable of being traced.¹

It is possible that other portraits of Mr. Pepys may come to light. Mr. Wheatley informs the writer that a correspondent some years ago referred him to a pair of supposed portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Pepys, belonging to a resident at Luton. Mr. Wheatley also records the existence of a portrait, supposed to represent Mr. Pepys, which belonged to Mr. J. Goldsmith at Brighton.

Two portraits in the Master's House at Sherburn Hospital, near Durham, have been believed to represent Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Pepys. Mr. Pepys's cousin, John Montagu, fourth son of the Earl of Sandwich, was Master of Sherburn Hospital in 1680, and later Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. The portraits, which are contemporary works of art, do not, however, represent Mr. and Mrs. Pepys.

¹ [It is hoped that the Club may be able to reproduce these drawings as illustrations to Pepys's Original Catalogue of his Library, which the Master and Fellows of the College have given the Club permission to print for the use of its members.—ED.]

II

NOTES ON SOME DISTINCTIVE FEATURES IN PEPYS'S PORTRAITS

BY SAMUEL PEPYS COCKERELL, F.S.A.

Read 1 December 1911

IN cataloguing the authentic portraits of Samuel Pepys, Mr. Cust has carried out a good piece of work for this Club.

It was high time. For since Mr. Wheatley's edition of the Diary was given to the world Pepys's name has become almost as familiar as any in English history, and one of the consequences of this notoriety has been that it has inclined people who happened to find anonymous seventeenth-century portraits of men in full-bottomed wigs to christen them Samuel Pepys. To one more particularly I shall presently refer.

It has become desirable, then, that the members of this Club should get as clear an idea as possible of what their eponymous hero was like, and be in a position to recognize the marks by which a portrait of him may be distinguished.

I propose, then, to put before you certain drawings from undoubted portraits, and to indicate how his character was reflected in them. Next to analyse them by giving each feature separately, and finally to point out which are probably the best likenesses.

The invention of photography has forced portrait painters to be far more accurate in the present day than they ever were before. Artistic periods varied according as attention was devoted to careful drawing or to brilliancy of effect, but the truth expected to-day was hardly looked for



SAMUEL PEPYS

After Hayls 1666



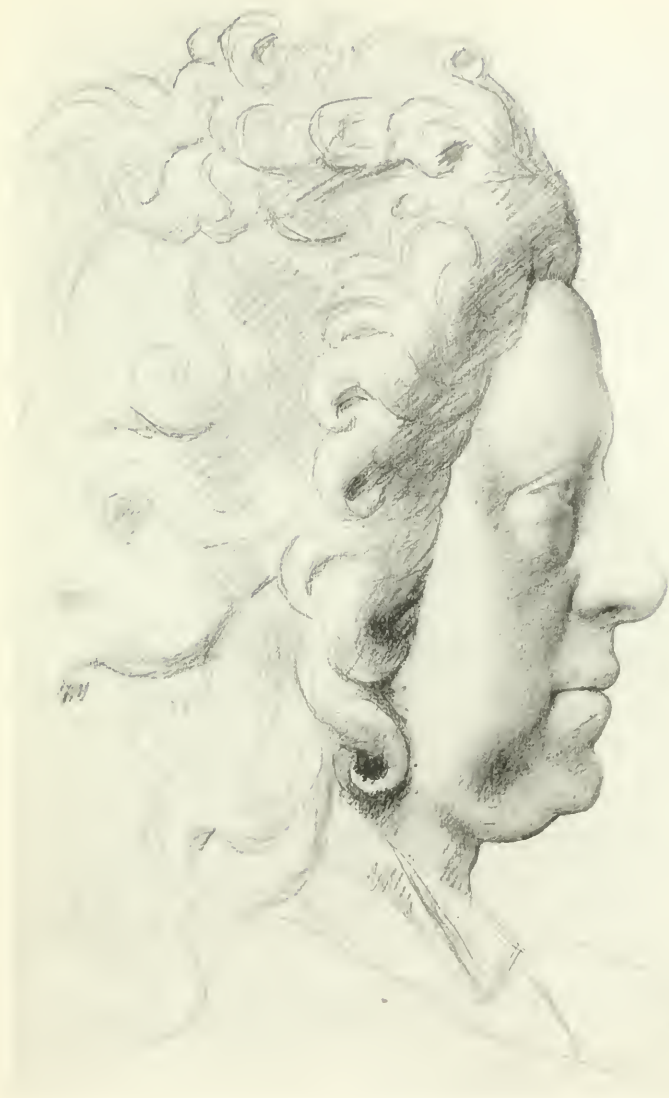
SAMUEL PEPYS

From Kneller's Portrait. Painted after the date of the Diary



SAMUEL PEPYS

From ivory medallion by Cavallier, 1688



SAMUEL PEPYS (?)

From ivory medallion by Le Marchand



SAMUEL PEPYS

Individual Features

in any of them. The end of the seventeenth century was certainly not one distinguished for meticulous accuracy amongst oil painters. Nevertheless there was never any time when it was not exacted of a portrait painter that he should at least reproduce the salient features of his sitter's face.

When I was at school this dilemma used to be put to me: which would you prefer, to look a greater fool than you are, or to be a greater fool than you look?—the implication being that one or the other must be the case. But however that may apply to boys, I have learned to believe that after thirty years of age one's character has so far moulded one's face that one looks pretty much what one is.

Now we should not be gathered together here to-night if we did not hold the opinion that Samuel Pepys was a phenomenally clever and lively spirit, and I cannot but be convinced that something of that must have appeared in his countenance, and should be discoverable in his portrait.

A few more preliminaries before turning to the sketches. In trying to reconstruct in your minds the appearance of Samuel Pepys as he lived some allowances must be made: first for the bad drawing of the artists who did the likenesses; secondly, for my bad drawing in copying them; and thirdly, it must not be forgotten that they represent the features at rest, moulded indeed by habitual moods, but perhaps too subtly for us to interpret their signification; finally we have nothing but the features to go by.

I do not wish to make any unseemly remark before this august assembly, but it is certain that if we all had our clothes off we should be much more unlike each other than we are now, so much do our trappings disguise us to-day. But Samuel Pepys lived at a moment when men clothed themselves more completely than they have ever done before or since. Besides wearing a fairly voluminous set of other garments, they buried their heads, necks, and shoulders in a monstrous haycock of a periwig. Now a vast deal of the characteristic form of a man lies in the

shape of his head, in the placing of his ear, and in the way in which his head is poised on his neck.

All this disappeared under a periwig, and nothing of the upper part of a man differentiated him from his fellows except the actual features of his face.

We must bear this in mind and study the features carefully.

The portrait now in the National Portrait Gallery by Hayls or Hales was executed in 1666, when Pepys was thirty-three years of age. It shows us a very plain young man with protruding, rather strained looking eyes, strongly marked eyebrows with a distinct pleat between them above the nose, a rather thin and curved upper lip and a heavy lower one, a long nose, low at the bridge and fleshy at the end.

Kneller's portrait, in the possession of John Pepys Cockerell, is essentially a "portrait de parade." It is loosely drawn, nevertheless the same features appear but with less definition.

On the other hand the ivory medallion by Cavallier, also in the possession of John Pepys Cockerell, done in 1688, twenty-two years later than Hayls's picture, is a very remarkable piece of carving, and displays a remarkable face. In a profile the deep mark between the brows is of course not visible, but we have the same protruding eyes, the same ugly nose, the mobile upper lip and coarse lower one. Altogether it is the face of an observant, inquisitive, communicative man. As it was done so much later we should expect to find and do find the character far more marked than in Hayls.

These three portraits are sufficient to give the ensemble of Pepys's face.

We will now examine each feature.

1. The brow.

Note what appears in the full faces, viz., the strong pleat between the eyes, which indicates an effort to see clearly and fixedly. His nature was very inquisitive. He looked attentively, and with his defect of

astigmatism to do so was painful. Evidently this furrow was one of the marked things in the face.

2. The eyebrows were brown, full, and rather rising on the side furthest from the nose.

3. The eyes were brown-blue—a common colour with fair people—large, very prominent, and, if we are to trust Hayls, rather watery and bloodshot.

4. The nose was long, low between the eyes. The bridge distinct but not high, and narrow, whereas the lobe was large and prominent, and the lower lateral cartilages marked.

5. The cheeks were full. The strongly accentuated line from the corner of the nose shows an emotional nature as of a man who laughed a good deal.

6. The mouth was Pepys's most tell-tale feature. It was not a determined mouth, shut to hold the breath in action, but a lively one ready to talk. The upper lip was quite unusually curved, or, as we should say, mobile. The lower lip is heavy—perhaps sensuous—but we will leave that alone. The whole mouth is somewhat prominent, coming in front of the springing of the nose.

7. The chin is neither large nor strong.

Altogether they were an odd, plain, unromantic set of features indicating cleverness rather than lofty moral character—in fact, very much what might be expected from his writing. At least so it seems to me. I trust I have not been deceived into reading the features *a posteriori*—I mean from knowing what the man was.

As to which are the most faithful portraits, that is, so far as it is possible to pronounce an opinion on such a subject, one may conjecture that since there is more individuality in them than any others, the picture by Hayls and the medallion by Cavallier are the best, and offer us the standard by which to judge others.

Now according to this standard the alleged portrait of Pepys in the

British Museum, an ivory medallion by Le Marchant, will not pass muster at all. Anyone can see by looking at the accompanying drawing and comparing it with the others that it shows no one of the features to be postulated in a likeness of Samuel Pepys.

The Museum enjoys a great reputation for trustworthiness which it would be a pity to impair, and it is much to be desired that the label should be removed.

III

THE CATALOGUING OF THE PEPYSIAN MANUSCRIPTS

BY J. R. TANNER, LITT.D.

SOON after his election to a Fellowship at St. John's College in 1886, the present writer consulted Sir John Seeley, then Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, with a view to undertaking some piece of work which would justify his Fellowship as an endowment of research. The answer was that the materials for naval history contained in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene, although examined by Macaulay, had never been systematically studied, and no one knew what was really there. An introduction to the authorities of the College was received by them with the utmost kindness, and in the scanty leisure afforded by a busy college life the undertaking was begun.

As the prentice hand had to learn its work, a good deal of time was wasted in acquiring familiarity with unaccustomed handwritings and in the accumulation of miscellaneous notes which led to nothing, but the references in the Diary to Hollond's "Discourses"¹ soon suggested a definite piece of work, and the foundation of the Navy Records Society

¹ "*July 25, 1662.*—At the office all the morning reading Mr. Holland's discourse of the Navy, lent me by Mr. Turner, and am much pleased with them, they hitting the very diseases of the Navy, which we are troubled with now-a-days. I shall bestow writing of them over and much reading thereof."

"*March 19, 1669.*—So Middleton and I away to the Office; and there I late busy, making my people, as I have done lately, to read Mr. Holland's Discourse of the Navy, and what other things I can get to inform me fully in all."

in 1893 gave the opportunity of publication. Hollond's "Discourses of the Navy," 1638 and 1659, was issued in 1896 as vol. vii of the Society's Publications. The volume also includes a "Discourse of the Navy, 1660," by Sir Robert Slyngesbie. Copies of Hollond's First Discourse and of Slyngesbie's Discourse are numerous, and the Pepysian copy is by no means the best; but the usual sources of information disclose only one other copy of the Second Discourse, that at Longleat House, which formerly belonged to Sir William Coventry. In all probability this is the original from which Pepys's copy was made. Volume vii of Pepys's miscellaneous papers contains copies of three other documents by "John Hollond, Paymaster of the Navy": "Eight Questions presented to the Lords of the Admiralty, 29 Nov. 1636"; "Inconveniencies attending payments to wrong parties in the Navy Office, though upon tickets fully signed and warranted, 1636"; and the more important "Reasons given by Mr. Hollond why the master shipwright should not keep a private yard, 9 Aug. 1652."

The Discourses thus edited cover nearly the whole ground of naval administration and expose abuses which had long been a subject of complaint. The main classification is under wages, victuals, and stores, or as the Second Discourse has it, "men, money, materials—under which three may be comprised almost, if not all, that great variety of persons, things, and actions that refer to the being of a navy"; but the later document does not merely repeat the earlier. It introduces new matter, handles fresh topics, and exhibits a remarkable improvement in literary style. The titles of the ten chapters into which it is divided indicate the nature of the contents: "Of the Navy and its Regulation in general"; "Of Wages"; "Of Victuals"; "Of Stores, and in particular of Hemp and Cordage"; "Of Timber"; "Of Iron and all Ironworks"; "Of Freight of Merchant Ships"; "Of Certificates and Oaths"; "Of a Free Market"; "Of the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy."

When Hollond's "Discourses" had been disposed of as matter of peculiar interest, the work of examining the manuscripts could be under-

taken systematically. It soon became clear that the 114 volumes classified by Pepys in his Collection as "Sea MSS.," contained materials for an account of the administrative history of the Navy during the whole of the Restoration period. In addition to documents brought together to serve as material for his projected "History of the Navy," and books and papers which appealed to his characteristic curiosity, Pepys had conveyed into his own possession many of the official papers of his time. For the first thirteen years after the Restoration, when he was Clerk of the Acts, these refer mainly to proceedings in which he himself played an important part, but from 1673, when he became Secretary to the Admiralty, down to his resignation in 1688, he spreads a wider net. Even the period from 1679 to 1684, when he was out of office, is not unrepresented. The result of this was that a "General Introduction" to a proposed catalogue of the manuscripts, which was at first intended to indicate the bearing of the more important documents upon naval history, somehow expanded into a sketch of naval administration from the Restoration to the Revolution. This was published by the Navy Records Society in 1903 as vol. xxvi of their series, and the opportunity was taken to print at the end of the volume Pepys's Register of Ships and the corresponding Register of Sea-Officers, both covering the period 1660-88. The book bears the inscription, "To the Memory of Samuel Pepys, a great Public Servant, this volume is dedicated in the Two Hundredth Year after his Death."

The next question to be considered was where the proposed catalogue should begin. Students able to visit the Library could consult the admirably arranged and beautifully written lists prepared for Pepys's own use; but there was one series of volumes to which these were no satisfactory guide. Under the title of "S. P.'s Letters, Admiralty," are to be found the letter-books of his office, containing in fourteen folio volumes (numbered ii-xv) copies of all the letters written by Pepys himself on matters relating to the business of his department during his two secretaryships. The first series of letters begins with 19 June 1673, the day on which Pepys

took over the post to which he had been called from the Navy Board on the Duke of York's resignation under the Test Act, and ends 21 May 1679, when he was driven from office by the Popish Plot. The second series begins 23 May 1684, just before his formal re-appointment as "Secretary for the Affairs of the Admiralty of England," and ends 5 March 1688-9, a few days before he was directed to hand over his papers to his successor, Phineas Bowles. Although much of this correspondence is routine in character, it includes matter of considerable importance, and incidentally throws much light on the way in which the Navy was administered during the period; but as the indexes attached to the original volumes are quite inadequate, the student seeking to use them finds himself on a wide sea without chart or compass. These considerations suggested that the work which ought to be undertaken next was the publication of a *précis* of these letters, preceded by an introduction indicating the bearing of the most important of them upon naval history, and followed by a full index of persons, places, and ships. The first two letter-books were dealt with in a volume published by the Navy Records Society in 1904 as vol. xxvii of their publications, and the next two in a volume issued in 1909 as vol. xxxvi. This carries the editing as far as 7 May 1677, but leaves ten more letter-books to be done.

Both in the general introduction and in the introduction to the "Admiralty Letters," somewhat the same classification of the subject-matter has been adopted: (1) Administration; (2) Finance; (3) Men; (4) Pay; (5) Victuals; (6) Discipline; (7) Ships; (8) Guns; (9) Miscellaneous. Under this last head references range from salutes and the use of flags to the perennial abuse of "chips," and from Charles II's love of ships and shipbuilding to his financial dependence upon France—not excluding the receipt of propitiatory presents by Mr. Pepys.

The work of cataloguing the Pepysian manuscripts had reached this stage when the Editor was asked by Messrs. Sidgwick and Jackson to undertake the section "Sea MSS." in "A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys" which they proposed to issue with the

authority of Magdalene College. It was suggested that such a publication, while it would be of the greatest value to students, would not interfere with the leisurely completion of the larger enterprise planned under the auspices of the Navy Records Society, and that Society on being consulted gave it their blessing. The result was the issue in 1914 of "Part I—Sea MSS.," in which all the 114 volumes which Pepys classifies under that head are briefly described, and the various documents are indexed under subjects. As many of the volumes in the Library contain a large number of separate documents, this index is indispensable to students who wish to consult the manuscripts. An introduction also attempts to classify the books and papers, and to indicate the most important in each group. From this smaller catalogue it is now possible to ascertain exactly what is to be found in this part of the Library, and students of naval history need no longer visit Cambridge with roving commissions and waste valuable time in making sure that papers which they want are not there; but considerations of space made it necessary that the smaller catalogue should be left incomplete in two respects: (1) Out of some 1,500 documents copied into the eleven volumes of Pepys's "Miscellany of Matters Historical, Political, and Naval," it has only been possible to include such papers as bear on the administrative history of the Navy as a modern historian would conceive it, together with matters of special importance in other fields. It is left to the larger catalogue of the Navy Records Society to print the titles of "matters historical and political," as well as "matters naval," and to add a *précis* of the documents themselves; (2) The smaller catalogue leaves the "Admiralty Letters" precisely where they were, and it will be necessary to finish the rather laborious business of calendaring the remaining ten letter-books. The larger catalogue will also attempt a more systematic inquiry into the origins of the "Sea MSS.," and will contain a much fuller index of subjects, places, persons, and ships.

In thus giving an account of his stewardship to his fellow members of the Pepys Club, the writer is fully aware that they are entitled to

comment on the inordinate delay in the completion of an enterprise which, begun in 1886, is still unfinished after thirty years. He can only plead the extenuating circumstance that during the whole of that time he has been fully occupied in other ways, and that for seventeen out of the thirty years he was discharging the exacting duties of a Tutor of one of the larger Cambridge colleges. The undertaking is now about to be resumed under conditions of ampler leisure, and there is a good prospect of its being carried through to the end.

[After the luncheon of the Club in Magdalene College Hall on 9 July 1904 Dr. Tanner read a short paper on "Pepys's Official Correspondence." This has been printed elsewhere, and is now out of date. Dr. Tanner has kindly written a new paper containing an account of his great undertaking up to the present time which will be much appreciated by the members of the Club.—ED.]

IV
THE PEPYS BALLADS
BY F. SIDGWICK

Read 3 April 1906

THE vagabond men who sell pirated editions of the popular songs of to-day in our streets are the only modern parallels to the almost extinct race of ballad-mongers. There are still one or two places in London where broadsheets of popular verse can be bought, and it is said that these houses still provide a few itinerant pedlars with ballads for their packs; but such men are few and far between, and it is at least safe to say that the ballad-monger, who both sold and sang his wares, is no more to be found. Vinny Bourne wrote of the ballad-singing women of Seven Dials in dainty Latin verse, which Charles Lamb rendered into somewhat bald English lines—but Bourne's "Cantatrices" was published in 1734. The tastes for which the ballad-monger catered, however, are still with us, though they are fed with halfpenny journalism and the music-hall song.

Samuel Pepys must have met ballad-mongers daily. In the Diary we find only one reference to ballads. On 15 May 1668 he attended the funeral of Sir Thomas Teddiman: "But, Lord! how unlike a burial this was, O'Brian taking out some ballads out of his pocket, which I read, and the rest come about me to hear! And there very merry were we all, they being new ballads. By-and-bye the corpse went." From this single reference one would scarcely gather that Pepys must have "loved a ballad in print, a' life"; for, next to the Diary, his chief claim

to our gratitude rests on the five volumes of broadsides largely collected and arranged by him. The Roxburghe Collection contains rather less than 1,500 ballads, of which a good many are duplicates; and the British Museum also possesses several smaller accumulations to the number of 1,000 broadsides, including the 350 which make up the Bagford Collection. At Oxford, the Bodleian Library contains Douce's 800 or 900 ballads, and the Rawlinson Collection of about two hundred. But Pepys's library contains eighteen hundred, forming, in spite of a considerable proportion of duplicates, the largest and most complete collection in existence. It has received more attention than the rest of the library—always excepting the Diary: Bishop Percy drew on it for the "Reliques," William Chappell examined it for his "Popular Music of the Olden Time," and when the Ballad Society published the Roxburghe and Bagford Ballads, edited by Chappell and Rev. J. W. Ebsworth, Pepys's collection was indexed, and cross-references made to those and other groups.

We must not give all the credit to Pepys alone. The manuscript title-page of his collection shows that he took over some ballads gathered by an older friend: "My Collection of Ballads; begun by Mr. Selden [doubtless the famous jurist, who lived long enough to have known Pepys]; Improv'd by y^e addition of many Pieces elder thereto in Time; and the whole continued to the year 1700. When the Form, till then peculiar thereto, viz^t of the Black Letter with Pictures, seems (for cheapness sake) wholly laid aside, for that of the White Letter without Pictures." And on the verso of the title he quotes from "Selden's Table-Talk," as follows: "Though some make slight of Libells; yet you may see by them, how the Wind sits. As take a Straw, and throw it up into the Air; you may see by that, which way the Wind is; which you shall not do, by casting up a Stone. More solid things do not shew the Complexion of the Times, so well as Ballads and Libells."¹

We proceed to go through the five volumes. Pepys has arranged

¹ Quoted by Percy on a half-title to vol. ii of the "Reliques."

the "Contents of y^e several Vols. under y^e following Heads of Assortment, viz^t:

1. Devotion and Morality.
2. History—True and Fabulous.
3. Tragedy—viz^t Murd.^{rs} Execut.^{ns} Judgm.^{ts} of God.
4. State and Times.
5. Love—Pleasant.
6. Do.—Unfortunate.
7. Marriage, Cuckoldry, &c.
8. Sea—Love, Gallantry, & Actions.
9. Drinking & Good Fellowship.
10. Humour, Frolicks &c. mixt.

Might one not treat Pepys himself under these ten Heads of Assortment, we ask in passing?

Despite the above arrangement, the first volume begins with some half-dozen ballads, which form a special section. The opening ballad is the Agincourt song (written probably immediately after the battle, 25 October 1415), which Percy printed in the "Reliques" from this Pepysian copy. Words and music are copied almost in facsimile on a sheet of vellum, "Ex Biblioth. Bodleianâ Arch. B. Seld. 10," a very interesting MS. now known as Arch. Seld. B. 26. The song begins:

Owre kynge went forth to Normandy,
 With grace and myght of chivalry;
 The God for hym wrought marvelously;
 Wherefore England may cal and cry
Deo gratias Anglia
Redde pro victoria.

There is another copy of this in the fifteenth-century roll of carols in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, printed and edited by Messrs. Fuller Maitland and Rockstro. Pepys follows it with "The Same, in moderne Dresse."

Then—to Pepys's eternal honour—he gives the Nutbrown Maid: “in Arnoldus Londinensis; Printed in the Time of K. Henry the vii.” Some amanuensis, or possibly Pepys himself, has copied out in a neat black-letter hand the poem from the first edition of Arnold's “Chronicle,” which is supposed to have been printed in 1502 at Antwerp by John Doesborowe. A copy of this book, imperfect, but made up from the second edition, is in the Pepysian Library.

There follows the first printed ballad in the book: “The Ballad of Luther, The Pope, A Cardinal, & A Husbandman.” This is Pepys's own title; the broadside itself has none. It consists of a large woodcut, thirteen inches by seven, at the top, and below, in three verses each of eight lines, the four characters speak their parts. The husbandman attacks the “freers,” Luther attacks Antichrist, and the Pope and the Cardinal attack Luther. The cut represents Luther fighting the Pope, pen against sword, while the husbandman backs Luther and the Cardinal seconds the Pope. Percy reprinted the ballad in the second Part of the second volume of the “Reliques,” with a small copper-engraving of the woodcut.

“The Ballad of Little John Nobody” comes next, “being a Libell upon the Reformation in the time of K. Edward ye 6th.” This is also copied out in MS. from some unknown source. Here is the first verse:

In December when the dayes draw to be short,
 After November when the nights wax noysome and long,
 As I pass'd by a place privily at a port,
 I saw on[e] sit by himself, making a song;
 His last talk of Trifles, who told with his tongue
 That few were fast i' th' faith. I feyned that freak,
 Whether he wanted wit, or some had done him wrong:
 He said he was little John Nobody, that durst not speak.

There are seven more verses, all similarly alliterative. The use of the word “freak,” which is “freke” or “man,” is another indication of antiquity. This is also in Percy's “Reliques,” vol. ii, p. 121.

The last ballad in the preliminary section is very curious: "The Ballad of Ioy, upon the publication of Q. Mary, Wife of K. Philip, her being with Child; Anno Dom.ⁿⁱ 15—." Pepys has left the date blank advisedly; for history records that Mary on more than one occasion expected an heir to the throne, but the date must of course be between her marriage with Philip in 1554, and her death from dropsy in 1558. The ballad is a MS. copy, supplied by "Michael Bull, Fellow of Bennet [Corpus Christi] Coll. Camb.," to Humphrey Wanley, of a black-letter print of "Wyllyam Ryddaell," who printed it "at London in Lumbarde strete at the signe of the Eagle." A sample follows:

How manie good people were longe in dispaire,
That this letel england shold lacke a right heire:
But now the swet marigold springeth so fayre
That England triumpheth without anie care.

The "Devotion and Morality" section comprehends "Scripture-Storys, Examples of Virtue & Vice, Death-Bed Repentances, &c., Godly Lessons General, Raillery agst. ye Pope & Popery, &c." Herein we find "The Ballad of Constant Susanna," which Sir Toby Belch begins to sing in "Twelfth Night" (Act II, scene ii), "There dwelt a man in Babylon, Lady, lady," the last two words being the refrain.

"A Friend's advice: In an excellent Ditty, concerning the variable changes in this World" is the well-known poem beginning:

What if a day, or a month, or a year.

The first two verses Mr. Bullen attributes to Campion, who must, however, have worked over a song which occurs in manuscripts of the fifteenth century. (See a full note in Mr. Bullen's edition, 1903.)

We now begin to come upon old favourites. Here is "The mad-merry pranks of Robbin Good-fellow. To the tune of *Dulcina*." As printed in this broadside, it begins:

From Obrion in Fairy Land
The King of Ghosts and shadowes there.

This was printed by Percy in vol. iii of the "Reliques," where he remarks that Mr. Peck attributes it to Ben Jonson, "tho' it is not found among his works."

Here, again, we find the ballad of Saint George, and "Chevy Chase," the *rifacimento* of some Deloney from the "old song of Percy and Douglas" loved of Sidney.

In the "Tragedy" section which follows we have the ballad of "the crueltie of Gernutus, a Jew, who lending to a Marchant a hundred Crownes, would have a pound of his Flesh, because he could not pay him at the day appointed." Many of these ballads are made from plays by such red-nosed ballaters as Elderton, Deloney, and Martin Parker, while others are strange events recorded by "halfpenny chroniclers"; as is sung in a ballad a few pages further on ("Turner's dish of Lenten stuffe, or a Galymaufery"):

The world is ful of thred bare poets,
That live upon their pen:
But they will write too eloquent,
They are such witty men.
But the Tinker with his budget,
The beggar with his wallet,
And Turner's turn'd a gallant man
At making of a ballet.

As we have already seen, the popular poems of lyric poets came upon the market in broadside form. In "Chap. V.—Love, Pleasant," Pepys includes "A new Song of a Young man's opinion, of the difference betweene good and bad Women." This is no other than George Wither's famous "Shall I wasting in despair." Here, however—and in other broadsides—"wasting" appears as "wrestling," and Wither's five verses are extended to seventeen. The fifteenth begins:

Shall a woman's tempting smile
Accuse her for a Crokadile:
Or shall I trust a wanton's eyes
That most dissembles when she cries?

It may be wondered whether George Wither wrote these lines: he certainly wrote much worse in his old age.

Again, we find here a ballad with the refrain, "Jone is as good as my Lady":

Jone can call by name her Cowes,
And deck her windows with green bowes;
She can wreathes and Tutties¹ make,
And decke with plumbes a Bridale Cake.
Is not Joane a House wife then?
Judge, true hearted honest men:
Then, good friend, I say to thee,
Joane is as good as my Lady.

The first four lines of this verse occur in a poem (curiously misplaced in "Divine and Moral Songs") in Campion's "Two Books of Ayres" (1613). A little further on we find "A sweet and pleasant Sonet, entituled: My minde to me a kingdome is. To the tune of, In Creet, &c."² Almost on the next page is Barnfield's "As it fell upon a day, In the merry month of May"; the broadside consists of ten verses of six lines each, whereas the version in "England's Helicon" is twenty-eight lines only. Further on, in a broadside "shewing how the Goddess Diana transformed Acteon into the shape of a Hart," the printer wanted something to fill up his fourth column, and had recourse to the charming Cradle Song attributed to Nicholas Breton:

Come, little babe, come, silly soul,
Thy father's shame, thy mother's grief.

There seems to have been no limit to the piracies of the ballad-printer.

We pass on to "Chap VI.—Love, Unfortunate." At once we find

¹ Nosegays.

² Shortly after this paper was read, I was fortunate to recover two verses and the tune of the lost ballad "In Crete," to the tune of which many contemporary ballads are appointed to be sung. See "The Gentleman's Magazine," August, 1906, and a note by the late Colonel W. F. Prideaux in "Notes and Queries," 22 September, 1906.

the "song of *Willow*" that Desdemona remembered her mother's maid Barbara to have sung: "an old thing 'twas, but it express'd her fortune." But whereas the "poor soul" of whom Desdemona sings is the lady, in the broadside it is the deserted knight who sings "*Willow*."

The first traditional ballad we come upon is "The lamentable Ditty of Little *Mousgrove* and the Lady *Barnet*." Professor Child prints this in "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads," noting that the broadside was printed for Henry Gosson, who is said by Chappell to have published from 1607 to 1641. A later version, "printed for J. Clark, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger"—famous ballad-printers—occurs in vol. iii of Pepys's collection. "Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard" was very popular through the seventeenth century, constantly being quoted and referred to in plays.

In "A Small Promiscuous Supplement" to vol. i Pepys has inserted several favourite ballads; "Sir Andrew Barton," the noble pirate who said, having an arrow through his heart the while:

Fight on, fight on, my merry men all,
A little I am hurt, yet not slain;
I'll but lie down and bleed a while,
And come and fight with you again:

"The Blind Beggar's Daughter of Bednall Green," "The Lord of Lorn," "A Lamentable Ballad of Fair Rosamund" (from Deloney's "Garland of Good-Will"), the famous "Fortune my Foe," and "The Norfolk Gentleman his last Will and Testament," under which title we recognize "The Children in the Wood."

Vol. ii opens with a dull accumulation of devotional and moral ballads, including a broadside variant of Lovelace's "When Love with unconfined wings." But the next section begins with twenty-two Robin Hood ballads, and continues with such eminently popular ballads as "King John and the Abbot of Canterbury," "King Edward and the Tanner of Tamworth," "The Brave Lord Willoughby," "Mary Ambree,"

and "John Armstrong's Last Good-Night." Further on, in the "Tragedy" section, we have a ballad concerning Dr. Faustus; and then a broadside with the following quaint title: "Summers his Frolick. *Shewing*, How he was condemned (this last *Lent Assizes*, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$. at *Alisbury*) for a Highway-Man. And how he sold his body, in Goal, for eight shillings to a Surgeon, to be made an Anatomy of after it was hang'd, and how he drank the money all out in Wine before he went to be Executed."

Under the heading "State," there follow more than a hundred historical broadsides: first of the trial and execution of Charles I; then ballads of Monmouth's rebellion and the battle of Sedgemoor; next (rather out of place) ballads of the death of Charles II and the coronation of James II; followed by ballads welcoming William and Mary, and celebrating the triumphs in Ireland, the siege of Limerick, the surrender of Drogheda, and the succour of Londonderry.

Vol. iii is not of particular interest. We note "The Spanish Ladies Love," which begins:

Will you hear a Spanish Lady
How she woo'd an Englishman

probably Deloney's composition; "True Love Requited, or, The Bayliff's Daughter of Islington"; and a version of Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor. Another version of the last appears early in the fourth volume, of which the first section is a rather monotonous selection of promiscuous love ballads, relieved by Tom Durfey's "Winchester Wedding," which found its imitators in "The Westminster Wedding," and "The Wiltshire Wedding."

A selection of "Sea" ballads contains a crudely humorous broadside, "The Poplar Feast: or, A Cat-Pasty. Shewing how some Maids of Poplar, baked a *Cat* in a Pasty, and invited several young Seamen to the eating of it; with their Merriment and pastime." A few pages later comes the ballad of the "Sweet Trinity," otherwise called the "Golden

Vanity," "Sir Walter Raleigh Sailing in the Low-lands." Here, too, is the original of Thomas Campbell's "Mariners of England":

You Gentleman of England,
That lives at home at ease,
Full little do you think upon
The dangers of the Seas:
Give ear unto the Marriners,
And they will plainly show,
The cares and the fears
When the stormy winds do blow.

The next page contains "The Famous Sea-Fight between Captain *Ward* and the Rainbow."

Vol. iv also contains a ballad of the Great Fire of London, an early copy of the famous "Lilliburlero," and a quaint chronicle of "The Frightned People of Clerkenwel, Being an Account how a Cow Ran into the Church at Clerkenwel in Sermon time, on Sunday the 18th of this Instant August, 1689."

With the beginning of vol. v we come to the end of the Black-letter Ballads, this last volume "consisting wholly of Verse-Ballads in ye White Letter," that is, ordinary Roman type. A further change is that the ballads are now printed down the folio sheet, instead of lengthways. The first section mainly consists of the "Sorrowful Lamentations of Murderers," heavily bordered with black; but amongst these there is the genuine ancient ballad of the Cruel Mother who murdered her twin babes.

A "State and Times" assortment contains a ballad dated 1691, in which the word "Tories" appears. In the Luttrell Collection, iii, 104, there is a Ballad "with the definition of the word Tory," dated 1682. We may note, also, "Private Occurrences: or, The Transactions of the four Last Years, Written in Imitation of the Old Ballad of *Hey brave Oliver, Ho brave Oliver*," which sounds like Touchstone's song to Sir Oliver Martext. Passing on to a "Love—Pleasant" section, we find the

ballad of the Baffled Knight, always popular, and still sung to a charming tune in the West of England. Here it is followed by "An Answer" and a "Third Part." Next we note the delightful "Milk-Maids," the tune of which is given by Chappell. Tom Durfey re-wrote the ballad after Martin Parker, who also wrote another ballad, "I married a wife of late," to the same tune; both are sung by Maudlin in the "Compleat Angler." The tune is so fresh and spirited that we cannot be surprised that many other ballads were written to fit it. Perhaps we may end our account of Pepys's ballads with one of these: "The Passionate Maid of Rochester: giving an Account of a Damzel who Poyson'd herself for Love of a Ship-carpenter; but repenting what she had done, with Oil she expell'd the Poyson, and then was Married to the Man she admired. To the Tune of, *The Milking Pail*." The last verse runs as follows, and to be thoroughly appreciated, should be sung to its own tune:

The Poyson did she expel;
Her lover, the truth to tell,
 Came to her again,
 And Marry'd her then,
So everything is well.
 In Rochester they
 Are living this day,
As I the truth have penn'd;
 With him she 's blest,
 Her Heart 's at rest,
 For I protest
 Amongst the rest,
The Bottle was her good Friend.

V

WHO PERFORMED LITHOTOMY ON MR. SAMUEL PEPYS?

BY D'ARCY POWER, TREASURER OF THE CLUB

Read 26 March 1904

WE celebrate to-night the two hundred and forty-sixth anniversary of one of the great events in the life of Samuel Pepys—the day when he was successfully cut for stone at the house of Mrs. Turner in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street. The recollection of the day was often in his thoughts and the entry in his Diary on 26 March 1660 is a faithful reflection of his usual state of mind at each return of spring. It runs:

This day it is two years since it pleased God that I was cut of the stone at Mrs. Turner's in Salisbury Court. And did resolve while I live to keep it a festival, as I did the last year at my house, and for ever to have Mrs. Turner and her company with me.

Two years later, on 26 March 1662, the entry is:

Up early. This being by God's great blessing the fourth solemn day of my cutting for the stone this day four years, and am by God's mercy in very good health. . . . At noon came my good guests, Madame Turner,¹ The.,² and Cozen Norton and a gentleman, one Mr. Lewin of the King's Life-Guard. . . . I had a pretty dinner for them—viz., a brace of stewed carps, six roasted chickens and a jowl of salmon hot for the first course: a tanzey and two neats' tongues and cheese the second: and were very merry all the afternoon talking and singing

¹ Daughter of John Pepys of South Creak and wife of Serjeant John Turner, Reader in Law.

² Her daughter, afterwards Lady Harris.

and piping upon the flageolette. . . . We had a man cook to dress the dinner to-day and sent for Jane to help us.

This is but a single example of many such pleasant dinners, and in continuation of them we have met here to-night.

But the club is founded to elucidate as well as to celebrate events in the life of Mr. Pepys, and I propose to ask to-night who operated upon Mr. Pepys? I do not think that he anywhere mentions the name of the surgeon, but he was on terms of intimacy with two surgeons, Mr. James Pierce and Mr. Thomas Hollier. James Pierce seems to have been under the protection of Lord Sandwich, and it was in this manner no doubt that Pepys became acquainted with him. After the Restoration he was appointed surgeon to the Duke of York, Surgeon-General of the Fleet, and Groom of the Privy Chamber to the Queen. He hoped to be appointed surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital by the influence of the Duke of York when Tom Woodall was killed in a drunken quarrel in 1666, but I do not find that he was ever elected to the office, and he must not be mistaken for Mr. William Pearce, who was some time a colleague of Mr. Hollier at St. Thomas's Hospital. James Pierce was master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1675, and was at that time surgeon to the King. Although Pierce was well known to Mr. Pepys he does not seem to have consulted him professionally on any occasion, and I think we may say with certainty that Pierce was not his lithotomist.

Thomas Hollier was a man of different calibre. He was appointed surgeon "for scald heads" at St. Thomas's Hospital in 1638, and on 25 January 1643-4 he was chosen surgeon to the hospital in place of Edward Molines, surgeon for the cutting of the stone to the hospital, who had left his place to join the King's army at the beginning of the war. Molines was taken in arms against the Parliament at Arundel Castle, and was in consequence deprived of his office as surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital on the day when Hollier was appointed. After the Restoration King Charles ordered the governors to reinstate

Molines, but as the place had already been well filled by Hollier the governors were unwilling to displace him. There was a considerable correspondence, and the difficulty was solved at last by the appointment of Molines as a fourth or additional surgeon, the stipend of the surgeons being reduced from £40 to £30 apiece.

Mr. Hollier acted as a second warden of the Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1665, when Mr. Serjeant-Surgeon Wiseman was master, and was himself master of the Company in 1673. In 1669 the College of Physicians bought his house and grounds, extending from Warwick Lane to the City walls, for £1,200 to build a new college in place of the college in Amen-corner, which had been destroyed by the Great Fire. Hollier's position as lithotomist gave him unusual opportunities to perfect his skill, and he is said to have cut no less than thirty persons for stone in one year without a single death, a result of which he might be justly proud were he living amongst us now. Hollier seems to have been the trusted medical adviser of Mr. Pepys, for he bled him, gave him sound advice on many occasions; when Mrs. Pepys was ill he was summoned to attend her, and though a surgeon he refrained from operating. Sir Frederick Bridge, in his recently published book, "Samuel Pepys, Lover of Musique" (p. 63), draws attention to certain entries in a volume of the Sloane MSS. at the British Museum.¹ These entries consist of two prescriptions written by Dr. J. M., the second being countersigned by Dr. G. Joyliffe. The first prescription is headed "Before he was cut for the stone by Mr. Hollier," and is ordered "for Mr. Peapes." It is a soothing draught, such as might still be given with advantage to a patient whose bladder was inflamed. It contains liquorice, marsh mallow, cinnamon, milk, rose water, and the whites of eggs carefully distilled over a slow fire. The dose ordered was six ounces with an ounce of syrup of althea,² to be taken daily in the morning and at bed-

¹ Sloane MSS., No. 1536, f. 63, margin.

² The syrup of althea itself was: R Roots of Althea two ounces: roots of grass, asparagus, Liquorice cleansed, Raisons stoned ana half an ounce. Tops of marsh

time. On the next page of the Sloane MS. is a second prescription for a draught to be in readiness when he was cut. "For Mr. Peapes who was cut for ye stone by Mr. Hollier, ye 28 March 1658, and had a very great stone taken that day from him." This prescription again is for a cooling and demulcent drink such as we still give to a patient whose mouth is parched after an operation. Its chief constituent was lemon juice to which a little syrup of radishes was added. It shows that Mr. Pepys was expected to be feverish after the operation, but the surgeons did not think he would be collapsed or dangerously ill, for the prescription especially mentions that musk was not to be employed, and we know that musk in those days was held to be as sovereign a remedy for collapse as is alcohol now. Indeed, few people died in a regular way until they had received a viaticum of musk. It is curious that the prescription should be dated 28 March, when Pepys says repeatedly that he was operated upon on 26 March, but we all know that there are other and similar discrepancies of date in the Diary which can in no way be reconciled.

There are further references to Dr. Joyliffe, who signs the prescription, under date 27 and 28 February 1662, where Pepys says about a demonstration of anatomy at the Hall of the Barber-Surgeons:

Dr. Scarborough upon my desire and the company's did show very clearly the manner of the disease of the stone and the cutting and all other questions that I could think of . . . how the water comes into the bladder through the three skins or coats just as poor Dr. Jolly has heretofore told me.

George Joyliffe, of Wadham and Pembroke Colleges, Oxford, graduated in Arts in 1640 and became a lieutenant in the Royalist

mallows, leaves of mallow, Pellitory, Burnet-Saxifrage, Plantane, White and Black Maidenhair ana M. (a handful) i: Red Cicers an ounce: of the four greater and lesser cold seeds ana three drachms. Infuse them a whole day in clear water, lb. vi. Boil to the consumption of two pounds: then strain and press and with sugar, lbs. iiiss. make a syrup in Balneo Mariae according to Art; "it provokes urine, cleanses the passages, breaks and expels the stone in both reins and bladder, and gives ease to all such kind of intolerable pains in those parts," says William Salmon in 1678.

army. He was a friend of Glisson, discovered the lymphatics, became M.D. Cantab, practised at Garlick hill, and died there in November 1658 a few months after he had attended Pepys, being barely forty years of age.

The initials Dr. J. M. at the foot of each prescription stand, I have very little doubt, for Dr. James Moleyns, the leading lithotomist of his time, father of Edward Molines referred to above, and in all probability the master and teacher of Thomas Hollier. I feel a personal interest in James Moleyns because he was a predecessor in the great hospital of St. Bartholomew, which I have the honour to serve. He held the office of "surgeon for the stone," both at St. Bartholomew's and at St. Thomas's Hospitals. At a time when medicine and surgery were absolutely divorced and surgery held a very inferior position, James Moleyns was one of the very few people licensed by the College of Physicians to administer internal medicines in surgical diseases. His licence is dated 24 September 1627. He died in 1686, and is buried in St. Bride's, Fleet Street.

We have some interesting information in the books at St. Bartholomew's Hospital about Dr. James Moleyns or Mullins. He succeeded Mr. Robert Murrey, surgeon to the Lock Hospital in 1622, and after a conference between the governors of St. Bartholomew's and those of St. Thomas's Hospitals duties were assigned to him in the following order:

Vicesimo die Januarii Anno Dni. 1622-3.

It is ordered by the Governors of this Hospitall that James Mullins Chirurghion in consideracon of his care and paynes which he is to take in cuttinge and cureinge of poor diseased p'sons of the Stone, and the greifs and Malladies hereunder named, brought to the sev'all hospitalls of St. Barth'ewes and St. Thomas in Sowthwarke, shall have the yearly stipend of xxx*li*. per ann. from XXmas last past soe longe as he shall discharge the same cures to the good likeinge of the Governors of the said hospitalls viz. xv*li*. of his said stipend to be paid him quarterly from this hospitall and the other xv*li*. from St. Thomas' Hospll. and he is alsoe to be allowed two pounds of tow for every patient for their more easie and warmer dressinge.

For the annuall stipend of thirty pounds I undertake (wth. God his helpe) my best skill and experience the manuall operacon and chirurgicall cuer of these issuinge Maladies viz.

The Cureinge by insition the stone in the yard or Bladder.

The cureinge of the rupture or falling downe of the Intestines or gutts into the Coddys by Cuttinge.

The Cureinge by Insition the Carnosity or fleshie substance in the Coddys.

Also the Curinge of Wennis by Insition.

Desiringe that for every patient I may have the allowaunce of 2 pounds of tow for theire easier and warmer dressinge.

It will appear from these statements that the governors of the two hospitals appointed a special surgeon for the treatment of those conditions which had so far fallen into the hands of quacks (lithotomists, hernia specialists, and fistula curers) that the ordinary surgeons left them untended. It was no doubt due to these wise orders and to the appointment of suitable persons at the hospitals, that lithotomy and hernia once more came to be considered a part of legitimate surgery. Now I think it is clear from the facts I have brought together that Mr. Pepys was operated upon by Mr. Hollier, who had called into consultation his old master, Dr. James Mullins. He thus came under the care of the best two lithotomists of the time, and I suspect that they used more than two pounds of tow for his dressings. If Mr. Hollier was his lithotomist there is a good reason why Pepys should have taken rooms at Mrs. Turner's in Salisbury Court, for he would wish to be as near as possible to his surgeon who was living in Warwick Lane. The Rev. John Ward in his Diary says: "I was at St Thomas Hospital 14th February [1661-2] where the porter told me how that Mr Hollyard cut 30 of y^e stone in one year and all lived and afterwards cut 4 and they all died." It is obvious that his instruments became septic, so posterity is indebted for an interesting record to the fact that Mr. Pepys came early in the series. His physician, Dr. Joyliffe, was the most brilliant of the younger men who were the pioneers of the Royal Society.

VI
WHY SAMUEL PEPYS DISCONTINUED HIS
DIARY

BY D'ARCY POWER

Read 5 April 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

IT is the pleasant duty of the officers of the club to fill a gap when there is a temporary dearth of papers. I have been called on to perform that duty, and I have naturally chosen the medical aspect as being the one with which I am most competent to deal. I have selected for to-night's paper a short account of the conditions which led Mr. Pepys to end his Diary prematurely, and to the loss of history, at the early age of thirty-six.

I may premise for your information a few facts about the eyesight which are obviously commonplace to the members of my own profession, though they may not be quite so well known to the majority of my audience this evening.

Some Preliminary Remarks on Eyestrain

The eyes are in a normal condition when they see both near and distant objects with equal facility. The power of seeing near objects—*i.e.*, objects not more remote than twenty feet, a distance that has been arbitrarily fixed—depends upon an alteration in the thickness of the crystalline lens which is situated within the eyeball. This alteration in the thickness of the lens is accomplished by a muscular effort. The lens in early life is transparent and elastic, so that the muscular effort is small,

but as age increases the lens gets firmer in consistence and less transparent; a greater muscular effort is then required to produce the same effect; whilst as we get older the retina or receptive surface at the back of the eye becomes somewhat less sensitive. Near objects, therefore, are seen with increasing difficulty as people get older, though vision for distance remains unaltered. The difficulty is usually noticeable between the ages of forty and fifty. It is called presbyopia, for it is a perfectly natural result of increasing years. It is easily remedied by the use of suitable convex spectacles, which act by relieving the muscular effort of accommodation, whilst at the same time they magnify, and so render the impressions on the retina more definite.

The most common divergence from normal vision is long-sightedness or hypermetropia, a condition which results from too great a flatness of the eyeball. All images, whether from near or distant objects, are then focussed behind the retina, so that nothing is seen distinctly when the eye is at rest. The lens is focussed by a delicate muscular mechanism, and in the slighter cases of hypermetropia objects can be focussed by an effort of this—the ciliary—muscle. The power of focussing is called accommodation. It is performed quite involuntarily, but is nevertheless a muscular effort. The muscle thus employed continuously either becomes over-fatigued, when the sight is blurred, or it passes into a state of spasm, which sets up a train of reflex symptoms known collectively as eyestrain. If there is a great amount of hypermetropia the ciliary muscle is unequal to the task of focussing images—especially of near objects—and vision is then so imperfect that there is no eyestrain. The amount of hypermetropia is often unequal in the two eyes, and it may then happen that the patient only uses one eye, the other eye being turned adrift, so to speak, for it is never used. It becomes practically blind, and its loss of function is proclaimed by a squint which follows in course of time.

Another defect of vision is often associated with hypermetropia and is called astigmatism. It is due to the fact that the transparent media

of the eye are not equally curved in every direction, and this defect, like hypermetropia, throws an undue strain upon the accommodation, which has to be constantly altered in order to obtain a fairly accurate adjustment both for far and near objects. The accommodation, therefore, is never at rest whilst the patient is awake if he suffers from hypermetropia or from astigmatism. A combination of hypermetropia and astigmatism is necessarily more trying than either defect separately, and it is more likely to be troublesome when it is present in a low degree and in both eyes than when it is high, and higher in one eye than in the other. When the defect is of low degree the patient sees fairly well by a constant effort of the accommodation, but suffers from eyestrain; when it is of high degree he gets no eyestrain, because he cannot see sufficiently well to do much work with his eyes. He does not use them, therefore, to any great extent, or he obtains spectacles which enable him to see better. A comparatively low degree of hypermetropia with some astigmatism gives rise to the train of symptoms which are now known to depend upon eyestrain or an over-use of the mechanism of accommodation. These symptoms are often reflex in character, and, as at first sight they do not appear to bear any relation to the cause, they long passed unrecognized.

Chief amongst the symptoms of eyestrain are watering of the eye; a glueing together of the eyelids on awakening in the morning; headache, the position and character of which vary with each individual. It may be neuralgic or it may be deeply seated, as was the case with Wagner the musician, who was complaining constantly of "the nerves of his eyes." The headache is often replaced by an inflammation of the eyelids, especially in young and healthy persons who also have a little conjunctivitis with a feeling of tension or fullness in the eyes which may become real pain of a dull aching character, the eyeballs being very tender on pressure. Sometimes there are vertigo and sickness, with dyspepsia, palpitation, and even difficulty in breathing. Sleeplessness is a very frequent symptom, due in part to the excessive flow of

blood to the brain and in part to the low tone of the whole nervous system.

The symptoms of eyestrain appear sooner in those who lead a confined and sedentary life, who follow occupations which need a constant use of the eyes in bad or unsuitable light, and in those who are debilitated from any cause. The symptoms appear later in those of coarser fibre, who pass much of their time in the open air or who follow occupations which do not need a prolonged use of the eyes for close work. Clerks, therefore, often wear spectacles, while it is rare to see them amongst an agricultural population. With increasing years presbyopia is added to the hypermetropia, and the patient is then reduced to the same condition as he would have been if he had originally suffered from a high degree of hypermetropia. He must either give up using his eyes or he must obtain suitable spectacles. The spectacles in such a case would be convex glasses to correct the hypermetropia, ground in such a manner as only to permit the rays to be focussed in that meridian through which the patient sees best if he also suffers from astigmatism. The glasses, therefore, are convex and cylindrical.

Let us see how these facts fit in with the record which Mr. Pepys has left us in his Diary. I quote from our President's edition in ten volumes.

Mr. Pepys's Account of his Visual Troubles

The first record of any complaint about his eyes is made by Mr. Pepys on 19 January 1663-4, when he was nearly thirty years old, and had been rather worried by an unreasonable jealousy of his wife. He writes: "I to my office till very late, and my eyes began to fail me, and be in pain which I never felt to nowadays, which I impute to sitting up late writing and reading by candle-light." Again, on 1 April 1664 he complains: "This day Mrs. Turner did lend me, as a rarity, a manuscript of one Mr. Wells, writ long ago, teaching the method of building a

ship, which pleases me mightily. I was at it to-night, but durst not stay long at it, I being come to have a great pain and water in my eyes after candle-light." On 4 May: "So home to dinner, and after dinner to my office, where very late, till my eyes (which begin to fail me nowadays by candle-light) begin to trouble me." And on the following day: "... to the office . . . and thence betimes home, my eyes beginning every day to grow less and less able to bear with long reading or writing, though it be by daylight: which I never observed till now." On 5 October 1664 he set about getting some assistance for his sight, for "then comes Mr. Cocker to see me, and I discoursed with him about his writing and ability of sight and how I shall do to get some glasse or other to helpe my eyes by candle-light: and he tells me he will bringe the helps he hath within a day or two, and shew me what he do."

On 11 October 1666 there is a memorandum to the effect that "I had taken my Journall during the fire and the disorders following in loose papers until this very day, and could not get time to enter them in my book till January 18th, in the morning, having made my eyes sore by frequent attempts this winter to do it." On 13 December 1666: "... for these three or four days I perceive my overworking of my eyes by candle-light do hurt them as it did the last winter, that by day I am well and do get them right, but then after candle-light they begin to be sore and run, so that I intend to get some green spectacles." Three days later: "... home by water and so to supper and to read and so to bed, my eyes being better to-day, and I cannot impute it to anything but my being much in the dark to-night, for I plainly find it is only excess of light that makes my eyes sore." A few days later, on Christmas Eve, he writes: "I do truly find that I have overwrought my eyes, so that now they are become weak and apt to be tired, and all excess of light makes them sore, so that now to the candle-light I am forced to sit by," adding, "the snow upon the ground all day, my eyes are very bad, and will be worse if not helped, so my Lord Bruncker do advise as a certain cure to use greene spectacles,

which I will do." However, it did not depress him much, for he continues: "So to dinner, where Mercer with us and very merry." And later on the same day: "I this evening did buy me a pair of green spectacles, to see whether they will help my eyes or no. . . . Then home to the office, and did business till my eyes began to be bad and so home to supper." On New Year's Eve he was busy with his accounts "till my eyes became very sore and ill, and then did give over, and supper, and to bed."

Pepys does not again complain of his eyes until 12 April 1667, when: "I close at my office all the afternoon getting off of hand my papers, which, by the late holidays and my laziness, were grown too many upon my hands, to my great trouble, and therefore at it as late as my eyes would give me leave." And on the following day: ". . . then to the office, where sat all the afternoon till late at night, and then home to supper and to bed, my eyes troubling me still after candle-light, which troubles me." A few days later, 22 April: "Did business till my eyes were sore again, and so home to sing, and then to bed, my eyes failing me mightily."

Mr. Pepys makes no further complaint, after this, until 3rd August 1667, when, after he had been very busy with the Admiralty accounts to show that the total debt was £950,000, "my eyes began to fail me, which now upon very little overworking them they do, which grieves me much." On Sunday, 4 August, he writes again: "Busy at my office from morning till night in writing with my own hand fair our large general account of the expence and debt of the Navy, which lasted me till night to do, that I was almost blind." Two days later: "I to the office, busy as long as my poor eyes would endure, which troubles me mightily." On 19 August he writes: "I home to supper and to read a little (which I cannot refrain, though I have all the reason in the world to favour my eyes, which every day grow worse and worse, by over-using them)." On 24 September: "At business till twelve at night, writing in short hand the draught of a report to make to the King and

Council to-morrow. . . . This I did finish to-night to the spoiling of my eyes, I fear." The next day: "My eyes so bad since last night's straining of them that I am hardly able to see, besides the pain which I have in them." This pain lasted at least over the next day, because on 26 September 1667 he concludes the report of the day's proceedings with, "and for the ease of my eyes to bed, having first ended all my letters at the office."

At the beginning of this winter Pepys took some trouble to get his defective sight improved, for on 4 November "I took a coach and went to Turlington, the great spectacle maker, for advice, who dissuades me from using old spectacles, but rather young ones, and do tell me that nothing can wrong my eyes more than for me to use reading glasses which do magnify much." Mr. Turlington's advice was superlatively bad, for he was clearly recommending Pepys to use concave glasses when in reality he needed convex ones. It is probable that the spectacles were tried and found unsuitable, for he never bought them, and on the 14th—a fortnight later—he writes: "So home to supper and to bed, my eyes being bad again; and by this means the nights nowadays do become very long to me, longer than I can sleep out." In his survey of April 1668 he says that he is in "some trouble for my friends . . . and more for my eyes, which are daily worse and worse that I dare not write or read almost anything."

We read no more about the state of Mr. Pepys's eyes for the next six months, until 20 June 1668, when there is an entry: "So we home and there able to do nothing by candle-light, my eyes being now constantly so bad that I must take present advice or be blind. So to supper, grieved for my eyes, and to bed." His eyes must have been more than usually painful at this time, for on 29 June—nine days later—he writes: ". . . toward St. James', and I stop at Dr. Turberville's and there did receive a direction for some physick, and also a glass of something to drop into my eyes: who gives me hopes that I may do well." On the following day: "Supper about eleven at night: and so, after

supper, parted, and to bed, my eyes bad, but not worse, only weary with working. But, however, I very melancholy under the fear of my eyes being spoiled and not to be recovered: for I am come that I am not able to read out a small letter, and yet my sight good for the little while I can read, as ever they were I think." On 13 July: "This morning I was let blood, and did bleed about fourteen ounces, towards curing my eyes." Two days later, on 15 July: "Up, and all the morning busy at the office to my great content, attending to the settling of my papers there that I may have the more rest in winter for my eyes by how much I do the more in the settling of all things in the summer by daylight." On the 29th again he notes: "My eyes for these four days being my trouble and my heart thereby mighty sad." Again on 31 July he concludes his diary for the month with the reflection: "The month ends mighty sadly with me, my eyes being now past all use almost; and I am mighty hot upon trying the late printed experiment of paper tubes." The next day, 1 August, he again says: ". . . at night to bed, my eyes making me sad." Indeed, they were so bad at this time that he made his boy (2 August) "read to me several things, being nowadays unable to read myself anything for above two lines together, but my eyes grow weary." But on 4 August he was obliged to sit up until "two in the morning drawing up my answers (for the Committee of Tangier) and writing them fair which did trouble me mightily to sit up so long because of my eyes." A few days later, on 11 August, he was "at the office all the afternoon till night, being mightily pleased with a little trial I have made of the use of a tube-spectacall of paper, tried with my right eye." The result of the trial seems to have been satisfactory, for on the 12th he went to the play and saw "Macbeth" and "then home, where the women went to the making of my tubes." But the improvement was not long maintained, as on the 15th: "So home and to my business at the office my eyes bad again, and so to bed." And on the 17th again: ". . . late, reading over all the principal officers' instructions in order to my great work upon my hand, and so to bed, my eyes

very ill." On 21 August he went to "Reeve's and bought a reading glass." His eyes became rather less troublesome, for on 23 August: "After dinner to the Office, Mr. Gibson and I, to examine my letter to the Duke of York, which to my great joy I did very well by my paper tube without pain to my eyes." His wife and others often read to him, and thus relieved the strain upon his eyes, for it is not until the end of November in his review of the month that he again complains about them, saying: "But my eyes are come to that condition that I am not able to work"; and again on 16 February 1668-9:

. . . my eyes mighty bad with the light of the candles last night, which was so great as to make my eyes sore all this day, and do teach me by a manifest experiment that it is only too much light that do make my eyes sore. Nevertheless, with the help of my tube and being desirous of easing my mind of five or six days journall, I did venture to write it down from ever since this day se'nnight, and I think without hurting my eyes any more than they were before, which was very much, and so home to supper and to bed.

A few days later he complains again: ". . . myself out of order because of my eyes which have never been well since last Sunday's reading at Sir William Coventry's chamber." Even at the playhouse in a good place among the Ladies of Honour he "was in mighty pain to defend myself from the light of the candles."

From his thirty-sixth birthday onwards the complaints about his eyes become even more frequent and always in the same strain, "pretty merry only my eyes which continue very bad," and they were so painful on many occasions that he was obliged to curtail even his play-going. At the end of March 1668-9 he was "to my great grief put to do Sir G. Downing's work of dividing the customs for this year between the Navy, the Ordnance, and Tangier; but it did so trouble my eyes that I had rather have given £20 than have had it to do." This extra work led him to make another attempt to get relief, for on 25 April:

Up and to the office awhile and thither comes Lead with my vizard, with a tube fastened within both eyes; which with the help which he prompts me to,

of a glass in the tube, do content me mightily, and then . . . he being gone, to write down my Journal for the last twelve days; and did it with the help of my vizard, the tube being fixed to it, and do find it mighty manageable, but how helpful to my eyes this trial will show me.

Pepys had the tubes altered with his usual ingenuity, for on 8 May, 1669:

Up and to the office and there comes Lead to me and at last my vizards are done and the glasses got to put in and out as I will; and I think I have brought it to the utmost, both for easiness of using and benefit, that I can; and so I paid him 15s. for what he hath done now last in finishing them, and they I hope will do me a great deal of ease. At the office all this morning and this day the first time did alter my side of the table after eight years sitting on that next the fire. But now I am not able to bear the light of the windows in my eyes, I do begin there, and I did sit with much more content than I had done on the other side for a great while, and in winter the fire will not trouble my back.

The vizard and the change of position proved of small use, however, for on 16 May 1669:

Dined at home . . . and I all the afternoon drawing up a foul draught of my petition to the Duke of York about my eyes for leave to spend three or four months out of the Office, drawing it so as to give occasion to a voyage abroad, which I did to my pretty good liking.

The next few days were spent in trying to find an opportunity of presenting the petition to the Duke, and it was not until 19 May:

Dinner done, I out, and to walk in the Gallery (at White Hall) for the Duke of York's coming out. . . . By and by the Duke of York comes and readily took me to his closet and received my petition and discoursed about my eyes and pitied me and with much kindness did give me his consent to be absent and approved of my proposition to go into Holland to observe things there of the Navy, but would first ask the King's leave, which he anon did, and did tell me that the King would be a good master to me, these were his words about my eyes.

Leave being thus obtained, the remaining days of the month were spent in making preparations for the holiday, and the Diary ends on 31 May 1669.

And thus ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my own eyes in the keeping of my Journal, I being not able to do it any longer, having done it now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in my hand; and therefore whatever comes of it I must forbear; and therefore resolve, from this time forward, to have it kept by my people in long-hand, and must therefore be contented to set down no more than is fit for them and all the world to know; or, if there be anything, which cannot be much now my amours to Deb. are past and my eyes hindering me in almost all other pleasures, I must endeavour to keep a margin in my book open, to add here and there a note in shorthand with my own hand. And so I betake myself to that course which is almost as much as to see myself go into my grave; for which and all the discomforts that will accompany my being blind, the good God prepare me!

Cause of the Condition and the Remedy

Anyone who reads critically the account which Mr. Pepys has given of the state of his eyes must feel sure that he suffered from hypermetropia with some degree of astigmatism, and that his fear of becoming blind was wholly unfounded. These errors of refraction were not very great, though they were sufficient to cause eyestrain and undue sensitiveness of his retinae. He did not suffer from headache, or he would have said so; he did not squint, or his portraits would have shown it. The eyestrain came on when he was about thirty. He had been accustomed to lead an outdoor life, but he now settled down at his office, began to use his eyes for long spells of work, and was concerned with masses of figures which often required the closest attention. The paper at this time was coarse, the writing was crabbed, and the candle-light by which he worked was insufficient. Considerable strain, therefore, was put upon his accommodation, and the latent defect soon became manifest.

I asked my friend, Mr. Ernest Clarke, what spectacles he would recommend for a young man who came to him complaining of similar symptoms, and he replied at once: $+2$ D. or $+2.5$ D. convex glasses. I have very little doubt that Mr. Cocker and Mr. Lead supplied this strength of glass, but the eyestrain continued. There was some cause, therefore, additional to the hypermetropia, and this was the slight degree of astigmatism. Mr. Pepys complained that his eyes were especially troublesome when he had been reading music, or working long at figures, and these are exactly the conditions which are most trying to the astigmatic. I have therefore added to Mr. Clarke's prescription: $+0.50$ D. cyclinders axis 90° . The prescription reads, therefore:

For Samuel Pepys Esq.

Spectacles—

$+2$ D. c. $+0.50$ D. cyl. axis 90° .

This prescription Mr. Edward C. Bull, who is the manager of the Birmingham Branch of Messrs. C. W. Dixey's business, has put up in the silver frames which it is most likely that Mr. Pepys would have had, for they are similar to a pair which went to America in the "Mayflower" in 1620. With these glasses the Diary might have been continued at any rate for several subsequent years.

Such a prescription, however, would have been impossible. Convex and concave spherical glasses for spectacles seem to have been the outcome of the marvellous twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Roger Bacon is generally credited with their invention, and Hirschberg says: "From the middle of the fourteenth century convex spectacles were commonly known." From that time the older people of the Old and New Testaments, as depicted in pictures, stained-glass windows, and statues, are provided with spectacles. Spectacles are referred to in public transactions, valuations of property, and wills. They were still somewhat costly. Towards the end of the fifteenth century their use became general as the result of the invention of printing. Spectacle-makers are mentioned as early as 1482

at Nürnberg. But lenses were only known in their stronger forms; and as late as 1841, Mr. Bull tells me, $+0.75$ D. was the weakest lens made by Chevalier, the great optician, and it was left to Sichel to employ a $+0.50$ D.

Concave glasses for short sight were introduced later than convex glasses, for they seem to have been first used in Paris some time before the middle of the sixteenth century, although Roger Bacon is said to have suggested them. But it was not until well on in the nineteenth century that the proper question of treatment by glasses received the serious attention of ophthalmic surgeons, and it was after the middle of the century before this matter had been put on the scientific basis which determines the practice to-day.¹

Astigmatism was known to Young at the beginning of the nineteenth century; it was named by Whewell and popularized by Donders (1818-89). Chamblant first made the tools for working cylindrical glasses in 1820, and Mr. Bull tells me that the first cylinders made in England were by Fuller, of Ipswich, for the use of Sir George B. Airy, the great astronomer. Chevalier stated, however, in 1841, that the cylindrical glasses invented by Gowland had long been abandoned.

It is clear, therefore, that the hypermetropic astigmatism from which Mr. Pepys suffered could not have been cured by glasses during his lifetime, for science was not sufficiently advanced to recognize the condition. But astigmatism can be relieved by allowing the rays of light to pass through only a single meridian of the irregularly curved cornea or lens. It is tantalizing to think that Pepys might have stumbled accidentally upon this method if anything had caused him to read through a slit whilst he was wearing his glasses. This might easily have happened had he sat upon his tubes and crushed them, or if in the agitation of speaking he had squeezed them flat in his hands. He would

¹ G. A. Berry: The Presidential address delivered before the Ophthalmological Society of the United Kingdom. "Transactions of the Ophthalmological Society," vol. xxx, 1910, p. 15.

then have found his eyestrain removed; his acute mind would have set itself to determine the cause; he would have pasted strips of black paper on each side of his glasses, and the Diary might have been continued to the end of his life; whilst the paper he would certainly have read on the subject before the Royal Society would have added still greater lustre to his name, and might have revolutionized the laws of dioptrics.

VII

THE MEDICAL HISTORY OF MR. AND MRS. SAMUEL PEPYS¹

BY D'ARCY POWER

SOME of you may perhaps think that I owe the society an apology for bringing before it such a paper as that which I propose to read. I do not think so. The older we get and the more the cares of this world threaten us, the more necessary is it to have a hobby. We need not ride it so as to be a nuisance to our friends, but in reason we are better for it; and if, as in my case, the hobby leads us to become intimately acquainted with the manner of life and thoughts of a bygone age, it is, I humbly conceive, an advantage.

We are too apt to think that everything at the present day has reached its acme of perfection. It is not so; *vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi* is as true now as when Horace wrote it nearly two thousand years ago. To condemn our ancestors is the vice of imperfect knowledge and of a second-rate education. We can learn from the past quite as much as from the present, and the knowledge which we acquire for ourselves is the better if it be founded upon a historical basis.

Pepys is remarkable for the plain and unvarnished accounts which he gives of the facts coming under his notice during the eight years succeeding the Restoration of Charles II. The details of his own illnesses and of those of his wife are as clear as everything else in his Diary.

¹ This paper was read before the Abernethian Society on 6 March 1895, some years before the foundation of the Club. It is published amongst the "Occasional Papers" as it appears to elucidate some parts of the Diary. It is now reprinted with additions from the "Lancet" of 1 June 1895.

From his accounts we can gather very much more than it would be possible to do had one of the surgeons, or, still worse, one of the physicians, who attended him left us an even more detailed description of his ailments. I think that there is nothing so difficult to determine from contemporary sources as the nature of an illness occurring during the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century. The humoralist doctrines held sway during this period, as they had done since the beginnings of medicine, and the symptoms of the patient are so overlaid by the theories of his medical attendant that it is often impossible to arrange them in a sufficient sequence to obtain even an approximate diagnosis. The pathology of the time was humoralism tinged with methodism—the doctrine of Themison of Laodicea allied with that of Hippocrates and Galen.

Pepys, like Montaigne, has dissected himself so completely that it is no sacrilege to lay bare his physical infirmities as thoroughly as he has exhibited to us his many psychical weaknesses, for we shall see that the one depended to some extent upon the other.

So much has been written of Pepys that it is only necessary to remind you that he was descended from an East Anglian family of yeomen farmers, that he was born on 23 February 1632-3, and that at the age of twenty-two he married Elizabeth St. Michel, who was then only fifteen.

His diary commences on 1 January 1659-60, two years after he had been cut successfully for stone at the house of Mrs. Turner in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, by Thomas Hollier, lithotomist to St. Thomas's Hospital, and Master of the Barber Surgeons' Company in 1673, who was then living in Warwick Lane.

The tendency to stone was doubtless an inheritance bequeathed to Pepys through the maternal side, for he relates (4 November 1660) that his mother was "in greater and greater pain of the stone" when he went to visit her, and (21 December 1660) that "my aunt at Brampton has voided a great stone (the first time that ever I heard she was

troubled therewith)." He also informs us (27 January 1662-3) that his brother John, who had just put on his bachelor's cap at Cambridge, "hath the pain of the stone and makes bloody water with great pain, it beginning just as mine did. I pray God help him." Evelyn, the contemporary diarist, says that the stone removed from Pepys's bladder was as large as a tennis ball. It weighed, therefore, about two ounces, and I have little doubt that it consisted of uric acid, or of a uric acid nucleus with peripheral layers of ammonium urate, for the recorded symptoms do not in any way point to a mulberry calculus, and it was certainly of renal origin. It may perhaps be found some day, for Pepys treasured it for many years, and in 1664 he paid 24s. for a case in which to keep it.

Although the stone was successfully removed on 26 March 1658 Pepys suffered throughout the period covered by the Diary from certain symptoms in part due to the operation and in part to the formation of fresh stones in his kidney. These renal calculi only once found their way into his bladder, for on 7 March 1664-5 he passed two after an attack of renal colic. When he died at the age of seventy a nest of seven stones¹ was found in his left kidney. These calculi were, I believe, embedded from the beginning in the renal cortex—a rather unusual situation—and it is to this accident of position that Pepys owes his long life and his comparative immunity from symptoms, for in such cases the secreting substance of the kidney does not suffer, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the stones. He had no increased frequency of micturition, for he would certainly have noted the fact when his nights had been disturbed from such a cause. He had occasional attacks

¹ John Jackson, Pepys's nephew, writing to Evelyn after his uncle's death, says: "I must not omit acquainting you, Sir, that upon opening his body, which the uncommonness of his case required of us, for our own satisfaction as well as the public good, there was found in his left kidney a nest of no less than seven stones, of the most irregular figures your imagination can frame and weighing together four ounces and a half, but all fast linked together and adhering to his back; whereby they solve his having felt no greater pains upon motion, nor other of the ordinary symptoms of the stone."

of pain, which were increased by walking, but not usually by riding. He hardly ever suffered from typical renal colic, but he repeatedly had attacks of pain radiating along his spermatic cord. He never passed blood, and only once in a way did his urine contain phosphates and mucus.

These symptoms all point to a cortical stone which would have led him, had he now been living, to have his kidney opened and the calculi removed; he would thus have been spared many days of pain and anxiety.

The symptoms detailed in his diary are so explicit that it is possible to ascertain when the calculi were formed, or at any rate when his kidney underwent changes in connection with the presence of the calculi.

He had several atypical attacks of renal colic. The first one noted in detail was on 27 December 1660, when,

about the middle of the night I was very ill—I think with eating and drinking too much—and so was forced to call the maid, who pleased my wife and I in her running up and down so innocently in her smock, and vomited in the bason and so to sleep, and in the morning was pretty well only got cold and so had pain in my cods as I used to have.

Again on 31 July 1662 he complains of "pain in my cods with the little riding in a coach to-day from the Exchange which do trouble me." Again, on 1 August 1662, he complains of pain. This attack must have been transient, for on the following day he rode to Rochester, and a few weeks afterwards to Cambridge, on both occasions without producing further symptoms. On 31 December 1662, he was "very weary and in a little pain from my riding uneasily to-night in the coach."

Six years after he had been cut for stone (9 April 1664) he says: "I did wake about one o'clock in the morning, a thing I most rarely do, and pissed a little with great pain, continued sleepy, but in a high fever all night, fiery hot, and in some pain." Later in the day he expresses himself as "sick in my stomach and vomited, which I do not

use to do." This attack he himself thought was a threatening of ague, but I am more inclined to consider it as marking the formation of a renal calculus, for before the attack became acute he had been complaining of severe pain in his testes from the mere act of crossing his legs.

He suffered for many months in 1663 from a pain referred along the course of his spermatic cord, and the least irritation set up an acute or subacute orchitis which (26 March 1664) he thinks is "very strange and troublesome to me, though upon the speedy applying of a poultice it goes down again and in two days I am well." The poultice (on 18 October 1661) consisted of "a good handful of bran with half a pint of vinegar and a pint of water, boiled till it be thick, and then a spoonful of honey put to it and so spread in a cloth and laid to it."

These attacks of renal colic were sometimes attended by other symptoms which point to the extension of the inflammatory processes through the perinephric tissue to the posterior surface of the descending colon, where it set up a slight enteritis, leading to constipation from paralysis of the intestinal wall. Thus he gives the following account of such an attack and its cause (13 June 1661):

We went toward London in our boat. Pulled off our stockings and bathed our legs a great while in the river, which I had not done some years before . . . so to the tavern, where we drank a great deal both wine and beer. So we parted hence and went home with Mr. Falconer, who did give us cherries and good wine. So to boat, and young Poole took us on board the *Charity* and gave us wine there, with which I had full enough, and so to our wherry again and there fell asleep.

He reports himself sorrowfully on the following day as having got a great cold by my playing the fool in the water yesterday, so that I was in great pain . . . and went not to the office at all.

He had a worse attack on 14 May 1664, and it seems to have begun with some cystitis. He describes it very graphically:

Up, full of pain, I believe by cold got yesterday, so to the office where we sat, and after office home to dinner, being in extraordinary pain. After dinner my

pain increasing I was forced to go to bed, and by-and-by my pain rose to be as great as ever I remember it was in any fit of the stone both in the lower part of my belly and in my back also. No wind could I break. I took a glyster, but it brought away but little and my height of pain followed it. At last after two hours lying thus in extraordinary anguish, crying and roaring, I know not what, whether it was my great sweating that may do it, but on getting by chance among my other tumbings upon my knees in bed my pain began to grow less and less till in an hour after I was in very little pain, but could break no wind nor make any water, and so continued and slept well all night.

Although the acute symptoms subsided and he was able to get about and transact business, it was not until 19 May that he was able to write: "A pretty good stool, and broke wind also."

He soon had a fresh attack, and a few days later he sent for Mr. Hollyard, his surgeon, who diagnosed a stone, and gave him something to dissolve it. The pain, however, continued, and as he inelegantly but truthfully put it on 20 June: "A sure precursor of the pain is a sudden letting off of farts and when that stops then my passages stop and my pain begins." The explanation being, of course, that the renal inflammation first stimulated and then paralyzed his large intestine. As he was not satisfied with the progress he made under Mr. Hollyard's treatment, Dr. Burnett was summoned on 1 July 1664,

who assures me that I have an ulcer either in the kidneys or bladder, for from my water which he saw yesterday he is sure the sediment is not slime gathered by heat, but is direct pusse. He did write me down some direction what to do for it, but not with the satisfaction I expected. I did give him a piece, with good hopes, however, that his advice will be of use to me.

The poor man, however, required but few more fees, for he died in August 1665 from the plague, which he seems to have caught whilst making a post-mortem examination of one of its victims. If Pepys had but little faith in Dr. Burnett's prescription he trusted implicitly in the utility of a hare's foot to keep off these attacks of colic, and when (20 January 1664-5):

Mr. Batten, in Westminster Hall, showed me my mistake that my hare's

foot hath not a joint in it . . . it is a strange thing how fancy works, for I no sooner almost handled his foote but my belly began to be loose and to break wind, and whereas I was in some pain yesterday and t'other day, and in fear of more to-day, I became very well and so continue.

After such a proof of the efficacy of a hare's foot with a joint in it he got rid of the one he had carried and sent to buy a hare that he might obtain so invaluable a remedy in its proper form.

The attacks of pain from which Pepys suffered were only too often produced by less legitimate causes than cold due to playfulness, and there is no doubt that he suffered directly from the effects of the lateral lithotomy to which he had been subjected, and to the manipulations necessary to remove so large a stone from his bladder. The round shape of the stone, too, would render it difficult to remove, especially with the duckbill forceps and guiders then in use.

Johnson's translation of Ambroise Paré's works was first published in 1634, and a new edition in 1649, so that we may be certain that the operation was performed after the manner which he describes and with such instruments as are there recommended. Paré says that, after the wound has been made laterally in the perineum and of the bigness of one's thumb,

some one of the silver instruments called by the name of guiders are thrust into the wound as the probe [*i.e.* the staff] is withdrawn from the bladder. The guiders are then to bee thrust and turned up and down in the bladder, and are at length to be staid there by putting in the pin. Then must they be held betwixt the surgeon's fingers. It will also be necessary for the surgeon to put another instrument called the ducks-bill between the two guiders into the capacity of the bladder; hee must thrust it in somewhat violently, and dilate it so thrust in with both his hands, turneing it everie way to enlarge the wound as much as shall be sufficient for the admitting the other instruments which are to bee put into the bladder: yet it is far better for the patient, if that the wound may with this one instrument bee sufficiently dilated, and the stone pulled forth with the same, without the help of anie other.

Pepys was sterile, and no doubt exists in my mind that his sterility was due to the left ejaculatory duct having been divided at the time of the operation, since the incision is made from right to left in the perineum keeping always to the left side of the mid line, whilst the right one was so much bruised by the system of dilatation then employed that it afterwards became occluded. Le Dran states definitely that injury was often done to seminal ducts in the old operation by the apparatus major, and although in a properly directed lateral incision the deep wound is external to the prostatic portion of the ejaculatory duct, Teevan¹ records four instances in which after lateral lithotomy there was no emission during sexual intercourse.

It is certain that Pepys suffered some permanent injury from his operation, for he had repeated attacks of pain and swelling in his testes, which were independent of the referred pain already described. His testes remained functional for many years, and his prostatic secretion was always sufficiently abundant to prevent his suffering from any lack of emission. The local pain in his testes usually occurred, upon his own confession, when his sexual feelings had been unduly excited, so that it appears clear that the pain was associated with the functional activity of these organs. Thus he had an attack on 1 August 1662 when, as he naïvely states he was

sorry to hear that Sir W. Penn's maid Betty was gone away yesterday for I was in hopes to have had a bout with her before she had gone, she being very pretty. I had also a mind to my own wench, but I dare not for fear she would prove honest and refuse and then tell my wife.

He also had an attack of this pain after "tousling" Mistress Lane, the pretty milliner at Westminster Hall, to whom he resorted on occasion, and sometimes after getting drunk or "foxed" as he prefers to call it.

The mere act of getting drunk he takes but little account of, and it

¹ "Transactions of the Clinical Society," vol. vii, 1874, pp. 179-80.

was an event of no infrequent occurrence in the earlier part of his career, for he confesses to sixteen times between April and November 1661. He considers it troublesome, however, under the following conditions. He and two friends on 10 November 1661,

sent for two bottles of canary to the Rose, which did do me a great deal of hurt, and did trouble me all night, and indeed came home so out of order that I was loth to say prayers to-night, as I was used ever to do on Sundays, which my wife took notice of, and people of the house, which I am sorry for.

Much of Pepys's incontinence must be attributed to the double irritation to which his genito-urinary system was subjected, for on the one hand his kidneys were in a state of constant but subacute irritation owing to the presence of a stone upon the left side, whilst on the other hand his testes, continually secreting, could not give vent to the semen in consequence of the blocked condition of the vasa deferentia. His long spells of sedentary office work and his rather gross habits of life no doubt tended to foster his sexual feelings.

The second great trial in Pepys's life was the trouble he had with his eyesight. He appears to have been ametropic from an early period, but it is clear that he had not used his eyes much during boyhood. He acquired a taste for reading soon after his marriage, and about the time the diary opens he found that it was necessary for him to improve himself in many branches of education. His work, first as Clerk of the Acts, and afterwards as Secretary to the Admiralty, and his post as a Clerk of the Privy Seal, demanded constant perusal of documents, and if we add to this his self-imposed labour of keeping a voluminous diary it is not a matter of any surprise that he soon complains of ocular strain due to such prolonged efforts to converge.

He slightly injured his right eye on 22 May 1660 by holding his head too much over a gun which he fired off to the honour of the King when he came aboard the fleet which carried him back to England at the Restoration. The injury was soon cured, and it does not appear to have done any permanent harm.

It is not until 25 April 1662 that he complains of his eyesight. He then says: "I was much troubled in my eyes, by reason of the healths I have this day been forced to drink." He began to have a watery eye in the following year, for he says (2 March 1663-4): "Up, my eye mightily out of order with the rheum that is fallen down into it," his left eye being more affected than the right. From this time the complaints about his eyes become more and more frequent, and it is clear that the error of refraction was somewhat greater in his left than in his right eye.

He attributed his defective vision at first to cold and to a variety of causes, but he learnt the true reason after a time, and though he suspected it on 31 July 1663, it is not until 8 June 1664 that he states "my eyes did ake ready to drop out" after a long evening of writing notes in shorthand. He applied to Ed. Cocker on 5 October 1664, to ascertain "how I shall do to get some glasse or other to help my eyes by candle-light, and he tells me that he will bring me the helps he hath within a day or two and show me what to do." Cocker, the alleged author of the arithmetic and engraver of letters (1631-1675) whose memory we still commemorate when we say, "According to Cocker," appears to have suggested the use of a pair of green spectacles, which Pepys employed for many years.

Increasing age added presbyopia to his hypermetropia, and his sight at last became so bad that after trying many expedients he found himself unable to write up his diary, which he concludes on 31 May 1669 with the words:

And thus ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my own eyes in the keeping of my Journal, I being not able to do it any longer, having done now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in my hand.

The presbyopia no doubt increased, but he was able to transact the ordinary business of a useful life until 26 May 1703, when he died.

The minor illnesses of Pepys are neither numerous nor interesting. He suffered from severe attacks of indigestion, usually caused by surfeits, and he records that after a visit to Epsom in July 1663, which was then a fashionable watering-place, he suffered from a pile the result of the purging produced by a course of the waters, coupled with the additional riding exercise in which he indulged. He was in fear for some time lest the pile should prove a rupture, thereby displaying his lack of even the rudiments of surgical knowledge.

He was extremely liable to catarrhal affections, for he was constantly catching cold, on one occasion it was from "tousling" Mistress Lane, on another from having his hair cut, on another from leaving off his periwig, and even from sitting without his hat at dinner. The cold was usually cured by simple remedies, and left no after-effects, but on one or two occasions he had attacks of tonsillitis. He says (12 June 1663) that he was

mightily troubled all night and next morning with the palate of my mouth being down from some cold I took to-day sitting sweating in the playhouse and the wind blowing through the windows upon my head.

He suffered, too, from boils, for on 8 February 1659-60 he records that he "went to bed with my head not well by too much drinking to-day, and I had a boil under my chin which troubled me cruelly." The boil increased in size and there was some stomatitis, for on the following day he "went home and got some alum to my mouth where I have the beginnings of a cancer, and had also a plaster to my boil underneath my chin." The scare of his having a cancer in his mouth subsided after 10 February, when he had been into "London to Mr. Fage about the cancer in my mouth, which begins to grow dangerous, who gave me something for it."

Pepys had repeated attacks of nettle-rash, which came on annually as soon as the weather began to get cold in the autumn. He cured himself by keeping warm and sweating.

He only records one occasion on which he was bled. It was on 4 May 1662, a very hot Sunday, that he was let blood to the amount of sixteen ounces, when he began to be sick; "but lying upon my back I was presently well again, and did give [Mr. Hollyard, the surgeon] five shillings for his pains." He dined well after the operation, and went out walking with his wife after dinner, "my arm being tied up with a black ribbon, our boy waiting on us with his sword, which this day he begins to wear to outdo Sir W. Pen's boy." A few days later Pepys felt constrained to whip this boy with "my whip till I was not able to stir, and then, not being willing to let him go away a conqueror, I took him to task again . . . and so to bed, my arm very weary"; and on several other occasions he administered "salt eel" to the boy, doubtless to neutralize the effect of the sword.

The illnesses of Mrs. Pepys are of less general interest than those of her husband. She was married at the age of fifteen years, so that she had been a wife for four years when the diary commences. Mr. Wheatley remarks that it is a most curious fact that so methodical and careful a person as Pepys should be in doubt as to the date of his wedding day. Yet so it was, for the register certifies that he was married on 1 December 1655, in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, and yet both he and his wife kept the anniversary of their marriage upon 10 October in each year.

Mrs. Pepys was childless owing, as I have endeavoured to show, to the sterility of her husband. She had a belief, however, on several occasions that she was pregnant; indeed, the diary opens with the statement that "my wife . . . gave me hopes of her being with child." Again, on 6 November 1663, "this morning waking my wife was mighty earnest with me to persuade me that she should prove with child, which, if it be, let it come and welcome." The hope was belied, however. In the following year, on 27 September 1664, he notes: "So home, where my wife, having (after all her merry discourse of being with child) her months upon her, is gone to bed."

The diary for several years contains an almost uninterrupted account of the pain from which Mrs. Pepys suffered monthly. It was so severe that it quite incapacitated her from doing any household work, and it usually compelled her to keep in bed. She seems to have met the trial bravely, lying up when she was forced to do so, but getting about again as soon as possible. As time wore on the entries about the pain became fewer and fewer, so that the attacks doubtless became less marked. The pain during the worst period sometimes preceded the flow by a week, but it was more usually coincident with it, and in no case, so far as I can find, did it come on afterwards. It would, therefore, be of that variety to which the term spasmodic (neuralgic or obstructive) dysmenorrhoea is now applied—a condition which, as my friend Dr. W. S. A. Griffith points out to me, is often met with in childless women who have been married young.

Mrs. Pepys had a long illness in the winter of 1663. It began, so far as I can ascertain, as an abscess in the vulva, though I think that it may have been ischio-rectal abscess, pointing, perhaps, a little more anteriorly than is usual. It terminated in a fistula. The surgeon was called in, for Pepys records, on 16 November 1663, that

in the evening Mr. Hollyard came, and he and I about our great work to look upon my wife's malady, which he did, and it seems her great conflux of humours, heretofore that did use to swell there, did in breaking leave a hollow, which has since gone in further and further, till now it is near three inches deep, but, as God will have it, do not run into the bodyward, but keeps to the outside of the skin, and so he must be forced to cut it open all along, and which my heart I doubt will not serve for me to see done, and yet she will not have anybody else to see it done, no, not even her own mayds, and so I must do it, poor wretch, for her. To-morrow night he is to do it.

On the following day, however,

Mr. Hollyard [Thos. Hollier? one of Sergeant-Surgeon Wiseman's wardens in

the Barber Surgeons' Company in 1665¹] being come to my wife, and there she being in bed, he and I alone to look again upon her [perineum] and there he do find that though it would not be much pain, yet she is so fearful, and the thing will be somewhat painful in the tending, which I shall not be able to look after, but must require a nurse and people about her, so that upon second thoughts he believes that a fomentation will do as well, and though it will be troublesome yet no pain, and what her mayd will be able to do without knowing directly what it is, but only that it may be for the piles. For though it be nothing but what is honest, yet my wife is loth to give occasion to discourse concerning it.

The affection ran its usual tedious course; but eventually the fistula healed, and shortly after Christmas Pepys

went after dinner straight on foot to Mr. Hollyard's, and there paid him £3 in full for his physic and work to my wife [about the abscess], but whether it is cured for ever or no I cannot tell, but he says it will never come to anything, though it may be it may ooze now and then a little.

I cannot find out when the abscess causing this fistula began, but so far back as 1661 there is an entry that she was suffering from some abdominal trouble, for on 12 May 1661,

My wife had a troublesome night this night and in great pain, but about the morning her swelling broke, and she was in great ease presently as she useth to be. So I put in a vent (which Dr. Williams [of Eltham?] sent me yesterday) into the hole to keep it open till all the matter be come out, and so I question not that she will soon be well again.

It was some time before the abscess healed, for on Midsummer Day Pepys went with his father

and Dr. Williams (who is come to see my wife, whose soare belly is now grown dangerous as she thinks) to the ordinary over against the Exchange, where we

¹ The College of Physicians in 1669 bought his house and grounds extending from Warwick Lane to the City walls for £1,200 to build a new college in place of the one destroyed by the Great Fire in 1666, which was situated in Amen corner

dined and had great wrangling with the master of the house when the reckoning was brought to us, he setting down exceeding high everything.

There is, however, no further entry in regard to this illness of his wife, though it may have been the starting point of the subsequent fistula.

Mrs. Pepys suffered from earache and from toothache on one or two occasions, but otherwise she appears to have been a tolerably healthy woman. Her earache was cured on 27 June 1662, by

Mr. Holliard, who had been with my wife to-day, and cured her of her pain in her ear by taking out a most prodigious quantity of hard wax that had hardened itself in the bottom of the ear, of which I am very glad.

On 14 September 1663 she fainted, probably from over fatigue, for setting out from London betimes she came in the evening to Buntingford on the Cambridge road, twenty-nine miles from London,

where my wife by drinking some cold beer, being hot herself, presently after 'lighting, begins to be sick, and became so pale, and I alone with her in a great chamber there, that I thought she would have died, and so in great horror, and having a great tryall of my true love and passion for her, called the mayds and mistresse of the house, and so with some strong water, and after a little vomit, she came to be pretty well again: and so to bed, and I having put her to bed with great content, I called in my company and supped in the chamber by her, and being very merry in talk, supped and then parted, and I to bed and lay very well.

She was well next day, for they went on to Godmanchester in Huntingdon, and sixty miles from London, where they ate and drank, and then to Brampton in Suffolk, which was their journey's end.

Once, and once only, she got a black eye, on 19 December 1664.

Going to bed betimes last night we waked betimes, and from our people's being forced to take the key to go out to light a candle I was very angry, and begun to find fault with my wife for not commanding her servants as she ought.

Thereupon, she giving me some cross answer, I did strike her over her left eye such a blow as the poor wretch did cry out, and was in great pain, but yet her spirit was such as to endeavour to bite and scratch me. But I, coying with her, made her leave crying, and sent for butter and parsley, and friends presently one with another, and I up vexed at my heart to think what I had done, for she was forced to lay a poultice or something to her eye all day, and is black, and the people of the house observed it.

We have no detailed account of the death of Mrs. Pepys. The fear of becoming blind led to the abrupt termination of the diary in 1669. Pepys obtained leave of absence from the duties of his office, and set out on a tour through France and Holland, accompanied by his wife. Some months after his return he spoke of his journey as having been "full of health and content," but no sooner had he and his wife returned to London than the latter became seriously ill with a fever. The disease took a fatal turn, and on 10 November 1669 Elizabeth Pepys died at the early age of twenty-nine years, to the great grief of her husband. Looking to the time of year and to her age, to the fact that she had lately returned home from a trip abroad, an attack of typhoid fever seems to be the most plausible cause of her premature death, but such a suggestion must be the merest guess. She is buried in St. Olave's Church, Hart Street.

VIII

GLADIATORIAL STAGE FIGHTS IN THE
TIME OF PEPYS

BY EGERTON CASTLE

Read 3 December 1904.

AMID the items of the regular notice sent to us by the amiable secretary of our Club, convening us to an excellent banquet, there appeared, as you know, the statement that Mr. Egerton Castle would read a short paper on "Gladiators' Stage Fights in connection with Samuel Pepys."

Now what I propose to submit to you to-night scarcely reaches the dignity of a "paper." I propose merely to read out—with certain comments and side explanations which may have at least an antiquarian and picturesque interest—those passages in the much valued Diary referring to sword play as a national sport.

When a man is known to have as a hobby the study of a somewhat out-of-the-way subject, it is often a dangerous thing to ask him to rise and talk about it, after dinner. But I hasten to reassure you: I will contrive, in the spirit of the secretary's announcement, to make my "paper" as short as possible. In the present case, happily, the subject offers not only, as I said, a picturesque, but also a human interest.

To any one who searches into past records for side-lights upon the bygone life of London—fascinating topic—the Diary proves indeed a rich mine. When, some twenty years ago, alas, I was about to commit my first youthful indiscretion in the shape of a book (to be called "Schools and Masters of Fence"), I found Mr. Pepys's testimony singu-

larly valuable even upon so slender a subject—one certainly which was not cognate with the general tenor of his life—as fencing. Seeing through Pepys's Diary, as we Pepysians know, is almost as clear as seeing through our own eyes. It was therefore delightful to find that he had not neglected to see for himself something of that truly national institution, the "Gladiating Stage Fight."

It appears, then, that on four separate occasions at least Samuel Pepys attended prize-fights, of which he has transmitted a record and his impression. And it is, by the way, rather interesting to watch how his critical appreciation of the sport seems to grow on each occasion. It somewhat reminds one of the manner in which the average benevolent, humane Briton of our days succumbs on his travels to the fascinations of the bull-ring, and ends by being quite a connoisseur of form in a *picador* or a *primer espada*.

Before reading out these particular entries in the Diary, I will ask leave to make a short digression, or excursion, into pre-Pepysian days, in order to present the prize-fight as carried out in the latter half of the seventeenth century in its proper historical light.

That what is now called "prize fighting"—even in its latter-day mitigated form of "glove-fight"—is the direct descendant of the "Playing for prizes at verie manie weapons," which was already a well established national institution in the days of Elizabeth, may be a matter of common knowledge to some of you; but it may be novel information to many. And, therefore, I will recall the fact that about the middle of Henry VIII's reign, and under the auspices of the King himself—a lover of all military sports and anxious to foster the practice of martial exercises—a Corporation of Maisters of Defence was established and endowed with many privileges.

Among other prerogatives enjoyed by this royally favoured corporation was that of compelling all would-be teachers of the noble art of fight to submit to a public test of skill at the hands, and under the approval, of the acknowledged masters of the Guild. This searching

ordeal, of course, choked off many dubious characters and interloping sword-men, and it undoubtedly raised the academic and practical standard of dexterity at arms among English masters. Furthermore, the Corporation was entitled to deliver what might be called Honorary Diplomas of aptitude to amateurs willing to "play their prizes," as the phrase went, against all comers—and able, of course, to play it to the satisfaction of the regular judges.

In this manner the playing of a scholar's or a master's prize, and, as a concomitant, the issue of grandiloquent public challenges, became an established institution during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Sword play was then what it has quite ceased to be, a really national sport. The watching of "prizes," as fencing matches were called, was a popular recreation—for which gate-money was paid, on which wagers were laid, very much as in the case of football meetings in our own times.

In the days of Elizabeth the form of challenge was substantially the same as we find it later in the reign of Anne; with the exception, however, that under the Virgin Queen the trial was invariably to be a courteous bout, severe enough, but without effusion of blood; whereas in Stuart times the prize-playing had degenerated—or developed—into actual prize-fighting, "gory indeed and most slicing."

During the Parliamentary period, all vestiges of the old Corporation of Maisters of Defence vanished. As a favoured body it was already practically extinct under King James I—that noted abhorrer of a blade. Nevertheless public exhibitions of hard knocks remained popular; and at the conclusion of the war a number of out-of-work swordsmen of great "martial scorn," and especially of skill and experience, started the custom of substituting "sharps" for "blunts" in these displays and of exhibiting their gladiatorial prowess in theatres and other enclosures where they could gather gate-money, and also sweep the stakes in the event, to use the jargon of the sport, of their "keeping the stage" to the last.

Now it was this kind of entertainment which allured the ever curious Mr. Pepys on 1 June 1663.

The Duke having been a-hunting to-day, and so lately come home and gone to bed, we could not see him, and Mr. Coventry being out of the house too, we walked away to Whitehall, and there took coach and I with Sir J. Minnes to the Strand May-pole; and there light out of his coach, and walked to the New Theatre, which, since the King's players are gone to the Royal one, is this day begun to be employed by the fencers to play prizes at. And here I come and saw the first prize I ever saw in my life: and it was between one Mathews, who did beat at all weapons, and one Westwicke, who was soundly cut several times both in the head and legs, that he was all over blood: and other deadly blows they did give and take in very good earnest, till Westwicke was in a most sad pickle. They fought at eight weapons, three bouts at each weapon. It was very well worth seeing, because I did till this day think that it has only been a cheat, but this being upon a private quarrel, they did it in good earnest; and I felt one of the swords, and found it to be very little, if at all blunter on the edge, than the common swords are. Strange to see what a deal of money is flung to them both upon the stage between every bout. But a woful rude rabble there was, and such noises made my head ake all this evening. So well pleased for once with this sight I walked home, doing several businesses by the way.

It will have been noticed that Pepys mentions the use of several weapons—"Matthews did beat at all weapons." The very manie weapons used on the Elizabethan scaffolds were evidently still features of the gladiating display up to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Under the laws of the old Corporation the challenge usually ran to

Back-sword or sheering sword

Sword and dagger

Rapier single, and rapier and dagger

Sword and buckler

Falchion or cutlass

Long-sword or two-hander

Halbert and war flail.

I have here several examples of challenges in Stuart Days; they were

generally issued in leaflets. And I think that, as a corollary to the accounts which we find in the Diary, it may interest you to hear the language of one or two of these: they are always pitched in a delightfully truculent key.

At the Bear Garden in Hockley in the Hole.

A Tryal of Skill to be Performed between two Profound Masters of the Noble Science of Defence on Wednesday next, being this 13th of the instant July, 1709, at Two of the Clock precisely.

I, George Gray, born in the City of Norwich, who has Fought in most Parts of the West Indies, viz., Jamaica, Barbadoes, and several other Parts of the World; in all Twenty-five times, upon a Stage, and was never yet Worsted, and now lately come to London; do invite James Harris, to meet and Exercise at these following Weapons, viz.:—

Back Sword,	}	{	Single Falchon,
Sword and Dagger,			and
Sword and Buckler,			Case of Falchons.

I, James Harris, Master of the said Noble Science of Defence, who formerly rid in the Horse guards, and hath Fought a Hundred and Ten Prizes, and never left a Stage to any Man: will not fail (God Willing) to meet this brave and bold Inviter at the Time and Place appointed, desiring Sharp Swords, and from him no Favour.

Note. No person to be upon the Stage but the Seconds. Vivat Regina.

Here is another of the same kind:

At the Bear Garden in Hockley in the Hole.

A Tryal of Skill to be Performed between these two following Masters of the Noble Science of Defence, on Wednesday, the Fifth of April, 1710, at Three of the Clock precisely.

I, John Parkes, from Coventry, Master of the Noble Science of Defence, do Invite you, Thomas Hesgate, to meet me, and Exercise at these following weapons, viz.:—

Back Sword,	}	{	Single Falchon,
Sword and Dagger,			Case of Falchons,
Sword and Buckler,			And Quarterstaff.

I, Thomas Hesgate, a Barkshire Man, Master of the said Science, will not fail (God Willing) to meet this brave and bold Inviter, at the Time and Place appointed; desiring Sharp Swords, and from him no Favour.

Note. No person to be upon the Stage but the Seconds. Vivat Regina.

It is evident that some such challenge must have fallen under Pepys's notice in the year 1667; for on 27 May we may read the following records in the Diary:

Abroad, and stopped at the Bear-garden stairs, there to see a prize fought. But the house so full there was no getting in there, so forced to go through an alehouse into the pit, where the bears are baited; and upon a stool did see them fight, which they did very furiously, a butcher and a waterman. The former had the better all along, till by and by the latter dropped his sword out of his hand, and the butcher, whether not seeing his sword dropped I know not, but did give him a cut over the wrist, so as he was disabled to fight any longer. But, Lord! to see how in a minute the whole stage was full of watermen to revenge the foul play, and the butchers to defend their fellow, though most blamed him; and there they all fell to it to knocking down and cutting many on each side. It was pleasant to see, but that I stood in the pit, and feared that in the tumult I might get some hurt. At last the rabble broke up, and so I away to Whitehall.

The next entry to our purpose is under date of 9 September in the same year. It contains a characteristic allusion to a certain shamefacedness in the excellent gentleman: and undoubtedly the Bear Garden seems to have been, at the best of times, a disreputable place.

Thence I by water to the Bear-garden, where now the yard was full of people, and those most of them seamen, striving by force to get in, that I was afraid to be seen among them, but got into the ale-house and so by a backway was put into the bull house, where I stood a good while all alone among the bulls and was afraid I was among the bears, too, but by and by the door opened and I got into the common pit; and there, with my cloak about my face, I stood and saw the prize fought, till one of them, a shoemaker, was so cut in both his wrists that he could not fight any longer, and then they broke off: his enemy was a butcher. The sport very good, and various humours to be seen among the rabble that is there.

We may notice, however, that Mr. Pepys expresses his approval of the sport. And this appreciation of the points of a good prize-fight is still more noticeable in the last reference to gladiators contained in the Diary, under date 12 April 1669.

By water to the Bear-garden, and there happened to sit by Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who is still full of his vain-glorious and prophane talk. Here we saw a prize fought between a soldier and a country fellow, one Warrell, who promised the least in his looks, and performed the most of valour in his boldness and evenness of mind, and smiles in all he did, that ever I saw; and we were all both deceived and infinitely taken with him. He did soundly beat the soldier, and cut him over the head. Thence back to White Hall, mightily pleased all of us with this sight, and particularly this fellow, as a most extraordinary man for his temper and evenness in fighting.

"Temper and evenness in fighting" undoubtedly reveals an exact apprehension in Mr. Pepys of fencing quality.

Pepys's accounts are always graphic. If we required a confirmation of the truth of his pictures, we would find it in the description given by one M. Jouvin de Rochefort, who, as a foreigner, might be expected to see things essentially English in a severely critical light.

This M. de Rochefort in an "Account of a Journey to the British Isles" (published in Paris, 1672) describes a gladiators' stage fight in words which I now translate for the sake of uniformity.

We went to see the "Bergiardin,"¹ where combats are fought by all sorts of animals, and sometimes men, as we once saw. Commonly, when any fencing-masters are desirous of showing their courage and great skill, they issue mutual challenges, and before they engage parade the town with drums and trumpets sounding, to inform the public there is a challenge between two brave masters of the science of defence, and that the battle will be fought on such a day.

We went to see such a combat, which was performed on a stage in the

¹ Bear Garden on the Bankside, Southwark. The "Royal Gardens," with the entertainments of Bear Baiting, Prize Fighting, etc., were removed to Hockley in the Hole, late in the reign of William III, as more convenient for the butchers and such like, then the chief patrons of this once royal amusement.

middle of an amphitheatre, when, on the flourish of trumpets and the beats of drums, the combatants entered, stripped to their shirts. On a signal from the drum, they drew their swords and immediately began to fight, skirmishing a long time without wounds. They were both very skilful and courageous. The tallest had the advantage over the smallest, for, according to the English fashion of fencing, they endeavoured rather to cut than to thrust in the French manner, so that by his height he had the advantage of being able to strike his antagonist on the head, against which the little one was on his guard. He had in his turn one advantage over the tall man in being able to give him the *Jarnac* stroke, by cutting him on the right ham, which he left in a manner quite unguarded. So that, all things considered, they were equally matched. Nevertheless, the tall one struck the little one on the wrist, which he almost cut off, but this did not prevent him from continuing the fight, after he had been dressed, and taken a glass or two of wine to give him courage, when he took ample vengeance for his wound; for a little afterwards, making a feint at the ham, the tall man stooping in order to parry it, laid his whole head open, when the little one gave him a stroke which took off a slice of his head and almost all his ear. For my part, I think there is a barbarity and inhumanity in permitting men to kill each other for diversion. The surgeons immediately dressed them and bound up their wounds; which being done, they renewed the combat, and both being sensible of their respective disadvantages, they therefore were a long time without receiving or giving a wound, which was the cause that the little one, failing to parry so exactly, being tired with his long battle, received another stroke on his wounded wrist, which, dividing the sinews, he remained vanquished, and the tall conqueror received the applause of the spectators. For my part, I should have had more pleasure in seeing the battle of the bears and dogs which was fought on the next day in the same theatre.

I have here a set of engraved plates—published, it is true, later, in Georgian days, but which I believe give most probably an exact presentment of the appearance and postures of gladiating stage fighters even in Pepys's days: we must remember that popular manners and customs, two centuries ago, did not vary with the swiftness observable in our own times.

These plates were issued in his old age, and under the patronage of sundry gentle and noble men, by one Mr. Millar, a well-known stage

fighter—one, indeed, who in Queen Anne's reign, was an acknowledged champion—who seems moreover, as he advanced through life to have raised himself to the consideration of a gentleman.

Before sending round the table these plates, which are interesting on many counts—one of them being their comparative rarity—I would like to read out one last account of a typical stage fight; one in which this very Millar, then in his prime, figures sympathetically. It has over the preceding descriptions the merit of style in the best manner of "The Spectator."

You may find it in No. 436 of that delightful periodical, under the date 21 July 1712.

The Combatants met in the Middle of the Stage, and shaking Hands, as removing all malice, they retired with much Grace to the Extremities of it; from whence they immediately faced about, and approached each other, Miller with a Heart full of Resolution, Buck with a watchful untroubled Countenance; Buck regarding principally his own Defence, Miller chiefly thoughtful of annoying his Opponent. It is not easie to describe the many Escapes and imperceptible Defences between Two Men of quick Eyes, and ready Limbs: but Miller's Heat laid him open to the Rebuke of the calm Buck, by a large Cut on the Forehead. Much Effusion of Blood covered his Eyes in a moment, and the Huzzas of the Crowd undoubtedly quickened his Anguish. The Assembly was divided into Parties upon their different ways of Fighting: while a poor Nymph in one of the Galleries apparently suffered for Miller, and burst into a Flood of Tears. As soon as his Wound was wrapped up, he came on again in a little Rage, which still disabled him further. But what brave Man can be wounded with more Patience and Caution? The next was a warm eager Onset, which ended in a decisive Stroke on the Left Leg of Miller. The Lady in the Gallery, during the second Strife, covered her face; and for my part, I could not keep my thoughts from being mostly employed on the Consideration of her unhappy Circumstance that Moment, hearing the Clash of Swords, and apprehending Life or Victory concerned her Lover in every Blow, but not daring to satisfy herself on whom they fell. The Wound was exposed to the view of all who could delight in it, and sowed up on the Stage. The surly Second of Miller declared at this Time that he would that Day Fortnight fight M^r Buck at the Same Weapons, declaring

himself the Master of the renowned Gorman; but Buck denied him the Honour of that Courageous Disciple, and asserting that he himself had taught that Champion accepted the Challenge.

In conclusion I may add, in order to connect, genealogically, the special form of sport adverted to by Samuel Pepys with others that are still with us—or were with us until comparatively recent days—namely, “prize-fighting” in the modern fistic sense, and “backswording,” that game dear to the lusty rustic of the West Country, that the first on our long list of pugilistic champions, the renowned Fig, was also the greatest sword fighter on English record. He was just such a stage-fighter as Pepys might have watched in his days; but he appears to have been also the first to introduce boxing as a relief to the displays “at very many weapons” on the fighting stage. From his days onward the pugilistic art gradually but surely ousted gladiating sword play in popular favour. In fact the latter absolutely disappeared towards the end of the eighteenth century.

A bastard descendant of the backsword, in the shape of the basket-hilted cudgel—long dignified indeed, in spite of its bucolic, ligneous nature, with this very name of backsword (possibly because a cudgel may be looked upon as being *all* back) survived well into the nineteenth century.

Now, I believe, even this game of “backswording”—“for a broken head or a new hat,” as it generally went—is but a memory.

IX
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS MENTIONED BY
PEPYS

BY SIR FREDERICK BRIDGE, C.V.O., MUS.D.

Read 16 December 1910.

PEPYS'S constant mention of musical instruments and of players upon them shows that his love for music was really genuine. Many an amateur even now begins and ends by liking vocal music, and that very often the sound of his own voice.

Pepys we know loved to sing, and spent much time in mastering the "trill." He says:

Humming to myself (which now-a-days is my constant practice since I begun to learn to sing) the trillo, and found by use that it do come upon me. (30 June 1661.)

But not only did he learn to sing, but he actually practised on a considerable variety of instruments and makes mention of many more.

He certainly played the treble viol, the lyra viol, the bass viol (which Pepys's father also appears to have played, as we find a note of Pepys's having sent his father's old bass viol to his brother Tom), the lute (Pepys's lute was in pawn for a time!), the theorbo (or bass lute).

Possibly he played the cittern also, for we know that at Dover on board ship after the landing of Charles II, Mr. Pepys, besides spending a great while in his cabin getting Lawes' song, "Help, help," without book, in response to the Admiral Lord Sandwich's invitation, assisted by the lieutenant's cittern and with two candlesticks with money in

them for cymbals made barber's music "with which my lord was well pleased."

This "barber's" music refers to the custom of a cittern being kept in a barber's shop so that waiting customers could pass the time pleasantly by playing upon it.

Incidentally we may note this evidence of how general the accomplishments of singing and playing must have been in the "olden times."

For the guitar Pepys did not care very much, saying that at the best he considered it a bauble. He mentions having had charge of the King's guitar to convey from Dover to London:

I troubled much with the King's guitar and Fairbrother, the rogue that I entrusted with the carrying of it on foot, whom I thought I had lost. (8 June 1660.)

He tells us later that he spent an hour with Lord Sandwich:

My lord playing upon the gittarr, which he now commends above all musique in the world, because it is bass enough for a single voice [meaning in the sense of giving support to the voice] and is so portable and manageable without much trouble. (17 Nov. 1665.)

The last entry concerning this instrument shows that Pepys never came to respect it. In 1667 he mentions hearing Signor Francisco (Corbetta) play upon it "as well as I was mightily troubled that all that pains should have been taken upon so bad an instrument."

The bandore is mentioned but once when Pepys was staying the night in Cambridge at the "Bear": "I could hardly sleep, but waked very early and when it was time, did call up Will and we rose and musique (with a bandore for the bass) did give me a levett." (15 Aug. 1662.) [This word, derived from the French *lever* means a blast of trumpets intended as a reveille or morning wake-up.]

The recorder is not mentioned till late in the Diary and this entry

affords evidence of the continued and increasing interest which Pepys took in music:

I to Dumbleby's and there did talk a great deal about pipes and did buy a recorder, which I do intend to learn to play on, the sound of it being of all sounds in the world most pleasing to me. (8 April 1668.)

And again:

So home to my chamber to be fingering of my Recorder and getting of the scale of musique without book, which I at last see is necessary for a man that would understand musique as it is now taught, though it be a ridiculous and troublesome way and I know I shall be able hereafter to show the world a simpler way; but like the old hypotheses in philosophy, it must be learned though a man knows a better.

The recorder was a wind instrument with holes for the fingers and thumb. We may note Shakespeare's description of this instrument in "Hamlet," Act iii, Sc. 2.

The flageolet is an instrument much beloved by Pepys. Not only did he play it himself, but he caused his wife to learn it, and on all occasions when it was possible he "took out his flageolet and piped."

The dulcimer was first seen by Pepys at a puppet play in Covent Garden:

Here among the fiddlers I first saw a dulcimere played on with sticks knocking of the strings and is very pretty. (23 May 1662.)

On another occasion he says:

In the next room one was playing very finely of the dulcimere, which, well played, I like well. (23 June 1662.)

The virginals are often alluded to and the term is evidently used to include any keyboard plectrum instrument. Pepys tells us that at the time of the Great Fire,

River full of lighters and boats taking in goods. . . . I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of virginals in it." (2 Sept. 1666.)

And again, referring to people he visited, he says:

They had a kinswoman they call daughter in the house, a short ugly red-haired slut, that plays upon the virginals and sings, but after such a country manner I was weary of it, but yet could not but commend it. So by and by after dinner comes Monsr. Gotier who is beginning to teach her, but Lord! what a droll fellow it is, to make her hold open her mouth and telling her this and that so drolly would make a man burst, but himself I perceive sings very well. (24 July 1663.)

This Gotier was no doubt the celebrated singer to whom Herrick alludes in his lines in praise of Henry Lawes ("Hesperides," 851):

Touch but thy lyre my Harrie and I hear
From thee some raptures of the rare Gotiere.

A curious instrument mentioned by Pepys is the trump-marine, a little-known instrument to which our diarist alludes only once, and in the following terms:

To Charing Cross, there to see Polichinelli. But it being begun, we in to see a Frenchman at the house, where my wife's father last lodged, one Monsieur Prin, play on the trump-marine which he do beyond belief, and the truth is, it do so far out-do a trumpet as nothing more, and he do play anything very true and it is most admirable and at first was a mystery to me, that I should hear a whole concert of chords together at the end of a pause, but he showed me that it was only when the last notes were fifths or thirds one to another, and then their sounds like an echo did last so as they seemed to sound all together. The instrument is open at the end I discovered, but he would not let me look into it, and he did take great pains to show me all he could do on it, which was very much, and would make an excellent concert, two or three of them better than trumpets can ever do because of their want of compass. (24 Oct. 1667.)

This trumpet-marine is a stringed instrument having a triangular-shaped body or chest and a long neck, a single string raised on a bridge and running along the body and neck. It was played with a bow. This description would also describe what we know as the Japanese fiddle, but probably the body was much larger.

One instrument is mentioned by Pepys, of which it seems no example exists—the arched viall. He says:

Thence to the Musique Meeting at the Post Office where I was once before, and thither anon come all the Gresham College and a great deal of noble company, and the new instrument was brought called the Arched Viall, where being tuned with lute strings and played on with kees like an organ, a piece of parchment is always kept moving and the strings which by the kees are pressed down upon it are grated in imitation of a bow by the parchment, and so it is intended to resemble several vialls played on with one bow but so basely and harshly that it will never do. But after three hours' stay it could not be fixed in tune, and so they were fain to go to some other musique of instruments which I am grown quite out of love with. (5 Oct. 1664.)

In conclusion we may remark that, on the whole, Pepys preferred wind instruments to others, and the following entry supports this impression:

To the King's House to see "The Virgin Martyr," the first time it hath been acted a great while . . . but that which did please me beyond anything in the whole world was the wind-musique when the angel comes down, which is so sweet that it ravished me, and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife, that neither then, nor all the evening going home, and at home, I was able to think of anything, but remained all night transported, so as I could not believe that ever any musique hath that real command over the soul of a man as this did upon me: and makes me resolve to practice wind-musique and to make my wife do the like.



FRANCESCO CORBETTA

(Francisque Corbett)

X

FRANCESCO CORBETTA

BY SIR FREDERICK BRIDGE

Read 26 November 1907.

AS an instance of the great artistic value of a Diary such as that of Samuel Pepys, when from a trifling observation about a particular person or event we, in later days, are able to discover a quantity of interesting information concerning these old times, I may mention that in looking casually over the Diary I came across this observation:

After done with the Duke of York and coming out through his dressing room I there spied Signor Francisco tuning his gittar and Monsieur de Puy with him, who did make him play to me, which he did most admirably--so well as I was mightily troubled that all that pains should have been taken upon so bad an instrument (5 August 1667).

Now I did not know anything about "Signor Francisco," and probably hardly anyone else did—at all events by that name—but this note of Pepys's inspired me to find out who this admirable player of the guitar was.

It was no easy task, but after much research I have gathered some interesting facts about "Signor Francisco."

In the "Memoirs of Count Grammont" (of the time of Charles II) the following appears:

There was a certain Italian at Court, famous for the guitar; he had a genius for music and was the only man who could make anything out of the guitar; his style of play was so full of grace and tenderness that he would have given harmony to the most discordant of instruments. The truth is, nothing was so

difficult as to play like this foreigner. The King's relish for this composition had brought the instrument so much into vogue that every person played upon it—well or ill; and you were as sure to see a guitar on a lady's toilette as rouge or patches. The Duke of York played upon it tolerably well, and the Earl of Arran as well as Francesco himself. This Francesco had composed a Saraband which either charmed or infatuated every person; for the whole guitarery at Court were trying at it and God knows what a universal strumming there was.

Here again no mention of his surname—who was he? He was Francesco Corbetta, sometimes called in the French style Francisque Corbet. He was born in 1615 at Pavia. His parents intended him for any profession except music, and were annoyed at his decision to become a musician, but his choice was well-founded. He spent a great part of his time in Germany and Spain, and settled for a time at the Court of the Duke of Mantua, who sent him to Louis XIV. He stayed for a few years in the French Court and then came to England, where Charles II appointed him chief of the Chamber players to the Queen, gave him a large salary and provided him with a wife. The Revolution of 1688 drove him back to France, where he died in Paris about 1700. He was the best player on the guitar of his time. One of his best pupils, Médard, wrote a curious epitaph for him, which shows in what great esteem he was held. The lines may be translated as follows:

Here lies the greatest master of our time,
He played the lute with touch sublime,
Throughout his life he never spent
The whole of his accomplishment;
Lo, Death itself he could enthral,
But Death has got no ears at all!

Meaning that if Death could have heard him he would have been conquered by his sweet sounds.

There is reason to believe that Corbetta was occasionally employed in political matters, and as he was well acquainted with foreign Courts

this may have been so. Frederick the Great employed his flute teacher to negotiate many delicate business matters for him.

That is all we know about Francesco Corbetta personally, but a little of his music is available to those who can translate it from the old notations of his time. A few very interesting items are:

An Allemande for Three Voices accompanied by the guitar. (This was a favourite piece of Charles II.)

A Gavotte for Two Voices with the guitar. (A favourite piece of the Duke of Monmouth.)

A Saraband written as a Lament over the grave of "Madame," the sister of Charles II.

An Allemande for Three Voices with guitar. (This was a favourite piece of the Duke of York, at whose house Pepys first heard Corbetta play.)

The music is remarkable as having been written by a guitarist—it is quite dramatic, and it must be remembered was composed before the time of Purcell.

XI

PEPYS AND THE CITY OF LONDON

BY SIR FRANCIS HAYDN GREEN, BT.

Read 6th December 1906.

ONE of the most prominent facts in the immortal Diary is surely Pepys's connection with the City of London, and were I to touch on the many features of the City as it was at that time which are mentioned by the Diarist, I fear I should detain this meeting far into the small hours of the coming morning.

I propose, however, to allude very briefly to a few of the places with which Pepys was connected in the City, to the principal events which there took place and to the City Corporation as it was in the reign of the second Charles.

I fear I may be to some extent going over old ground previously covered at these meetings, but I can only trust that my plunge into the book we all so much admire may interest some present and possibly appeal to all.

Samuel Pepys was a Londoner born, and his first active connection with "the one square mile" may be said to have commenced when he was a boy at his father's house in St. Bride's Churchyard. After a short time spent at Huntingdon Grammar School he entered St. Paul's School as a pupil where he remained till 1650 when he left to enter the University of Cambridge. The school was then in St. Paul's Churchyard, facing the east end of the cathedral, and, after the Great Fire, was rebuilt on the same site, and rebuilt again in 1823, where it stood until its removal to Hammersmith in 1880. An inscription on the present buildings in the

churchyard records the old site of the school founded by the famous Dean Colet, then as now, under the control of the Mercers' Company.

Pepys certainly had a great affection for his old school, for, visiting Mercers Hall in 1661, he writes, "it pleased me much to come to this place where I was once a petitioner for my exhibition in St. Paul's school" (22 January 1660-1) and later on, meeting Samuel Cromleholme (or Crumlum), then High Master, he writes: "Here in discourse of books I did offer to give the school what books he would choose of £5" (23 December 1661), and four days after we find "in the morning to my booksellers to bespeak a Stephens's Thesaurus for which I offer £4 to give to St. Paul's school." (27 December.)

This generosity seems later on to have given the diarist some anxiety, for we read a short time afterwards:

so home and up to my chamber to look over my papers and other things, my mind being much troubled for these four or five days, because of my present great expense and will be so till I cast up and see how my estate stands and that I am loth to do for fear I have spent too much and delay it the rather that I may pay for my pictures and my wife's and the book that I am buying for Paul's school before I do cast up my accompts. (3 January 1661-2.)

It is nearly a year later before we find: "paid £4 10s. for Stephens's Thesaurus Grecae Linguae given to Pauls school." (24 December 1662.)

Pepys records a visit to the school in the following February.

To Pauls School and went up to see the head forms posed in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but I think they did not answer in any so well as we did, only in Geography they did pretty well. . . . So down to the school where Dr. Crumlun did me much honour by telling many what a present I had made to the school, showing my Stephanus in four volumes cost £4 10 0. (4 February 1662-3.)

We surely, as old boys of our respective schools, share Pepys's opinion when he alludes to the Apposition-day speeches: "I think not so good as ours were in our time."

He visited the school in the year following and alludes to the good speeches of the boys and then: "I to my booksellers and there spent an hour looking over *Theatrum Urbium* and *Flandria Illustrata* with excellent cuts with great content" (4 February 1663-4).

We find him, after the Great Fire, gazing at the "miserable sight of Paul's church, with all the roofs fallen and the body of the quire fallen into St. Fayth's: Paul's school also, Ludgate and Fleet Street, my father's house and the church [St. Bride's] and a good part of the Temple the like." (7 September 1666.)

In 1660 Pepys was appointed Clerk of the Acts (of the Navy) and this led to his residing in the old Navy Office which stood at the corner of Seething Lane and Crutched Friars and, being immediately opposite St. Olave's Church, brought about his active connection with that building which is so worthily commemorated by his monument now within the church. During Pepys's tenure of office a gallery was erected in St. Olave's for the use of the Officials from the Navy Office, to which we find frequent allusions in the Diary, amongst them:

I went to church into our new gallery the first time it was used. . . . There being no women this day we sat in the foremost pew and behind us our servants and I hope it will not always be so, it not being handsome for our servants to sit so equal with us. This day also did Mr. Mills begin to read all the Common Prayer, which I was glad of. (11 November 1660.)

This latter event, of course, marks the restoration of the Monarchy. This gallery was destroyed during the alterations to the church in 1871.

During the plague Pepys appears to have resisted all entreaties to avoid danger by flying with the crowds of Londoners into the country, and his loyalty to the city at this terrible time is shown by the following extract from his letter to Sir William Coventry:

The sickness in general thickens round us and particularly upon our neighbourhood. You, Sir, took your turn of the sword, I must not therefore, grudge to take mine of the pestilence.

The risk that the Diarist ran is shown by the fact that in his small parish alone there were 326 deaths from the plague.

Another extract about this memorable time is interesting:

And my Lord Mayor commands people to be within at nine at night all, as they say, that the sick may have liberty to go abroad for ayre. (12 August 1665.)

and again:

I looked into the street and saw fires burning in the street, as it is through the city, by the Lord Mayor's order. (6 September 1665.)

Pepys rendered special service at the time of the Great Fire. He communicated the King's wishes to the Lord Mayor and he saved the Navy Office by having up workmen from Woolwich and Deptford Dockyards to pull down the houses around and so prevent the spread of the flames.

Pepys's connection with the city is surely nowhere greater than at this spot, now probably unthought of by the thousands who daily pass it by, the site of the Navy Office from his windows whence he looked on to the church where he was so regular an attendant and where his body now reposes.

I must not fail to mention the Clothworkers' Company whose Hall stood hard by in Mincing Lane and of which body Pepys was Master in 1677.

The cup which he presented to the Company and which is still in use and our own inaugural gathering in the present magnificent hall on the same site, three years ago, justify but a brief reference to a matter so well known to the members of our club.

The City of London in the time of Pepys, just as in our own time, played a leading part in the national history, but though supporting the Commonwealth during the lifetime of the Protector, in the year in which

the Diary commences the City Fathers appear to have greatly encouraged Monk in his efforts to bring about the restoration of King Charles II to the throne. This, of course, was not to the liking of Cromwell's surviving lieutenants, as witness what Pepys writes in January 1660.

Coming in the morning to my office I met with Mr. Fage and took him to the Swan. He told me how high Haselrigge and Morly the last night began at my Lord Mayor's to exclaim against the City of London, saying that they had forfeited their charter. And how the Chamberlain of the city did take them down, letting them know how much they were formerly beholding to the city etc. He also told me that Monk's letter that came to them by the sword-bearer was a cunning piece and that which they did not much trust to; but they were resolved to make no more applications to the Parliament nor to pay any money unless the secluded members be brought in, or a free Parliament chosen (13 January 1659-60.)

This was followed by two Aldermen and a member of the Common Council journeying to Harborough in Leicestershire by the desire of the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen to compliment Monk, who was then at that town. Monk had previously felt his way into the good opinion of the City at a banquet at Guildhall and reached London with his forces in February.

The City does not seem to have been quite assured of what Monk was playing for, as we find a few days later that he "clapt" some of the Common Council into prison, pulled down the city gates and chains and took away their charter. Nevertheless he was well received in the City, feasted at Mercers' Hall, and invited one after the other to all the twelve Halls in London.

Elsewhere we learn that he did dine, at any rate, at nine of them.

But we know how all this uncertainty ended in the landing of the King at Dover, his acclamation by the citizens on his reaching London, and the Lord Mayor, Thomas Allen, being created a Baronet by his grateful Sovereign.

The Diarist, under date 3rd June 1660, relates:

Captain Holland tells me how every man goes to the Lord Mayor to set down their names as such as do accept his Majesty's pardon and showed me a certificate under the Lord Mayor's hand that he had done so.

Those were stirring times at the Old Bailey for, in the following October, alluding to the trial of several persons implicated in the execution of King Charles I, Pepys writes:

They were this day arraigned at the bar of the Sessions House, there being upon the bench the Lord Mayor, General Monk, My Lord of Sandwich, etc., such a bench of Noblemen as had not been ever seen in England. (10 October 1660.)

The office of the Lord Mayor of the City of London seems to have possessed in Pepys's time the importance which very properly is still attached to it.

We find frequent references in the Diary to the Chief Magistrate from which the few following are of interest.

2nd April 1662. Walked to the Spittle an hour or two before my Lord Mayor and the Blew-coat Boys come, which at last they did and a fine sight of charity it is indeed. We got places and staid to hear a sermon, but it being a Presbyterian one, it was so long that after above an hour of it we went away.

23rd June 1663. To the Change and by and by comes the King & Queen by in great state and the streets full of people. 'I stood in Mr. —'s Balcone. They dine all at my Lord Mayor's but what he do for victuals or room for them I know not.

25th August 1663. This noon going to the Exchange I met a fine fellow with trumpets before him in Leadenhall Street, and upon enquiry I find that he is the Clerk of the City Market and three or four men carried each of them an arrow of a pound weight in their hands. It seems that this Lord Mayor (Sir John Robinson) begins again an old custome that upon the three first days of Bartholomew Fayre, the first, there is a match of wrestling which was done, and the Lord Mayor there and Aldermen in Moorefields yesterday, to-day shooting and to-morrow hunting. And this officer, of course is to perform the ceremony

of riding through the city, I think, to proclaim or Challenge any to shoot. It seems that the people of the Fayre cry out upon it as a great hindrance to them.

The next entry occurs after a reference to a riot in the City:

2 Sept. 1663. Whitehall. My Lord Mayor comes who also was commanded to be there and he having . . . an admonition from the Lords to take better care of preserving the peace. . . . Going through the City, my Lord Mayor told me how the pillar set up by Exeter House is only to show where the pipes of water run to the City, and observed that this city is as well watered as any city in the world and that the bringing the water to the city hath cost it first and last above £300,000.

It seems a thousand pities that this great outlay did not stand the city in better stead during the Great Fire, only three years later, for this following entry is a sad contrast to the Lord Mayor's boast.

29 Oct. 1666. Westminster. When I come hither I find the new Lord Mayor Bolton a swearing at the Exchequer with some of the Aldermen and Livery, but Lord, to see how meanly they now look who upon this day used to be all little lords, it is a sad sight and worthy consideration. And everybody did reflect with pity upon the poor city to which they are now coming to choose and swear their Lord Mayor compared with what it heretofore was.

In view of the keen competition which exists nowadays to serve the ancient office of Sheriff of the City of London, the following extract from the Diary in September 1667, as showing a different state of things, is decidedly interesting:

11 Sept. 1667. Up and with Mr. Gawden to the Exchequer. By the way he tells me this day he is to be answered whether he must hold Sheriffe or no, for he would not hold unless he may keep it at his office which is out of the city (and so my Lord Mayor must come with his sword down whenever he comes hither) which he do because he cannot get a house fit for him in the city or else he will fine for it. Among others which they have in nomination for Sheriffe, one is little Chaplin who was his servant and a very young man to undergo that

place, but, as the city is now, there is no great honor nor joy to be had in being a public officer.

[Sir Francis Chaplin, Sheriff 1668, Alderman of Vintry Ward and Lord Mayor in 1677.]

In connection with the allusion here to the Lord Mayor's sword having to be carried down when his Lordship was visiting outside the confines of the city, the following extract from the Diary is of special interest:

3 March 1668-9. So after the play we to the New Exchange and so called at my cozen Turners and there meeting Mr. Bellwood did hear how my Lord Mayor, being invited this day to dinner at the Readers at the Temple and endeavouring to carry his sword up, the students did pull it down and forced him to go and stay all the day in a private Councillor's chamber until the Reader himself could get the young gentlemen to dinner and then my Lord Mayor did retreat out of the Temple by stealth with his sword up. This do make great heat among the students and my Lord Mayor did send to the King, and also I hear that Sir Richard Browne did cause the drums to beat for the Train-bands, but all is over only I hear that the Students do resolve to try the Charter of the City. So we home and betimes to bed and slept well all-night.

We are glad to know that the rough handling to which His Lordship was subjected did not, at any rate, affect the well-earned slumbers of the Diarist.

While on the subject of the Lord Mayor's sword, an interesting extract from the Travels of Cosmo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, when Hereditary Prince of that State, is worthy of mention. The incident in question occurred in 1669.

His Highness returned home a short time afterwards, where he found the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and others representing the body of the Senate or Common Council of London waiting to address his Highness in the name of the corporation. In proceeding to his Highness' apartment, a man went before in a long black gown carrying in his hand a Mace with a silver gilt crown: after him followed another bearing a sword as the ensign of justice and a round cap of red velvet trimmed round the outside with a grey coloured fur, either as a

mark of respect to his Highness or for the sake of showing that the corporation in that spot, as being out of the ancient liberties of London and on this side of Temple Bar, had no power or jurisdiction. After them came the Lord Mayor with twelve Aldermen and many common council-men who followed in regular order. The Aldermen, as well as the Mayor, had each of them a beautiful dress of scarlet lined with fur, that of the Mayor being distinguished by a jewel of great value which hung from his neck, while the rest wore a golden collar. The Common Councilmen were dressed in full black cloth gowns richly decorated. Having ascended the staircase with this official pomp and solemnity they were received at the door of the saloon by Chevalier Castiglioni and at that of the inner room by His Highness who having welcomed them insisted upon My Lord Mayor being covered, while one of the aldermen addressed him in English, expressing the respect and devotion of the corporation to his Highness and entreating him to honour them by his presence at a public dinner at the Mansion House.

No paper bearing on the civic history of London would surely be complete without reference to Lord Mayor's Day, and in Pepys's time, being before the alteration in the calendar, this occasion was observed on 29 October.

In 1661 our friend writes:

This day I put on my half cloth black stockings and my new coat of the fashion which pleases me well, and with my beaver I was ready to go to my Lord Mayor's feast, as we are all invited, but the Sir Williams were both loth to go because of the crowd, and so none of us went, and I stayed and dined with them. . . . My mind not pleased with the spending of this day, because I had proposed a great deal of pleasure to myself this day at Guildhall. This Lord Mayor (Sir John Frederick), it seems, brings up again the custom of Lord Mayors going the day of their instalment to Paul's and walking round about the Cross and offering something at the altar.

Two years later Pepys seems to have been more fortunate, and his interesting description of a Lord Mayor's Banquet, makes, I venture to think, a fitting conclusion to this paper. It must be remembered that in his time the dinner was fixed for 12 noon, and the Lord Mayor's Show, then termed the pageants, followed after the feast.

29 Oct. 1663. Up it being my Lord Mayor's day, Sir Anthony Bateman. . . . At Noon I went forth & by coach to Guild Hall. . . . We went up and down to see the tables: where under every salt there was a bill of fare and at the end of the table the persons proper for the table.

Many were the tables, but none in the Hall but the Mayor's and the Lords of the Privy Council that had napkins or knives, which was very strange. We went into the Buttry and there stayed and talked and then into the Hall again and there wine was offered and they drunk, I only drinking some hypocras which do not break my vowe, it being to the best of my present judgment, only a mixed compound drink and not any wine. If I am mistaken God forgive me: but I hope and do think that I am not. By and by we . . . went within the several Courts and there saw the tables prepared for the Ladies and Judges and Bishoppes: all great sign of a great dinner to come. By & by, about one o'clock, before the Lord Mayor came, come into the Hall from the room where they were first led into, the Lord Chancellor (Archbishopp before him), with the Lords of the Council and other Bishoppes and they to dinner. Anon comes the Lord Mayor who went up to the Lords and then to the other tables to bid welcome and so all to dinner. I sat . . . at the Merchant Strangers' table, where ten good dishes to a messe with plenty of wine of all sorts, of which I drunk none, but it was very displeasing that we had no napkins nor change of trenchers and drunk out of earthen pitchers and wooden dishes. . . . After I had dined went up and down the house and up to the Lady's room, and there stayed gazing upon them. But though there were many and fine, both young and old, yet I could not discern one handsome face there, which was very strange. . . . I expected musique, but there was none, but only trumpets and drums which displeased me.

The dinner it seems is made by the Mayor and two sheriffs for the time being, the Lord Mayor paying one half and they the other. And the whole is reckoned to come to about 7 or £800 at most. Being wearied with looking upon a company of ugly women, . . . I went away and took coach and through Cheapside and there saw the pageants which were very silly.

We are certain of one thing surely, that such a description of a modern Guildhall Banquet would be a distinct libel on the ladies of the present day.

I trust I have not wearied you all with this attempt to interest my

fellow members and our visitors present, but I do venture to think that you will all agree with our worthy President when he writes in his preface to the last volume of the Diary:

Most works of this nature are apt to tire when they are extended over a certain length of time, but Pepys's pages are always fresh and most readers wish for more.

XII

A MUSICAL TRIO: CAPTAIN COOKE, TOM EDWARDS, AND MR. PEPYS

BY PROFESSOR JOSEPH C. BRIDGE, M.A., D.MUS., F.S.A.

Read 27 May 1910

Captain Cooke

SCRATCHED on a window in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster is the name

HENRY COOKE 1642

and the owner of that name is one of the most frequently mentioned persons in the Diary, and one of the most remarkable persons of the period.

Henry Cooke was probably the son of John Cooke, "a basse from Lichfield," who joined the Chapel Royal of Charles I, and died in 1625.

Henry served first as a chorister and then as a gentleman of the chapel, and about 1640 took up arms for the King. We find him as a lieutenant in Colonel George Goring's regiment which formed part of the expedition sent north against the Scotch, and was in the retreat from Newcastle to York.

Then, returning to London, and resuming his chapel duties, he would have time to record his name at Westminster before proceeding to further campaigns in the great Civil War.

There are no particulars extant of his war services, but he ended his military career as a captain, and ever afterwards retained that title.

After the death of his royal master he probably went to Italy for

a year or two and studied singing, for he seems to have had a fine voice, a great command of the Italian language, and "without doubt he hath the best manner of singing in the world" (27 July 1661). And Evelyn corroborates this by saying that "he was esteemed the best singer after the Italian manner in England."

In 1656 we find him taking part in that curious entertainment, "a Declamation of Music after the manner of the Ancients" given by Davenant.

This was followed by the "Siege of Rhodes," which is often termed the first English opera. Cooke not only composed the music of the second and third acts, but also took the part of Solymán.

It is an extraordinary fact that Davenant should have been able to obtain permission under the Commonwealth for such a performance, and still more extraordinary that an Englishwoman—for the first time in the history of the English stage—should take a prominent part in it.

This was Bess Coleman, the wife of Edward Coleman (a well-known musician of that period), and Cooke's performance made such a profound impression on her, that some years later she imitated Cooke's acting and singing before Pepys, who was delighted with her mimicry, and records "she do it most excellently."

At the Restoration Cooke was called upon to write the music for the Coronation and for the installation of the Knights of the Garter. At the latter ceremony he made a great innovation by mixing instruments with the voices "that all might distinctly hear and consequently keep together in time and tune," as Ashmole tells us in his "Order of the Garter."

And now Cooke was appointed to the office which has brought him everlasting renown and credit. He was made Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal at Whitehall.

The outlook for him was not very cheerful. There were no trained boys, very few men, not a surplice to wear, and the order of service was so completely forgotten that no two organists played it alike.

We must bear all this in mind when Pepys tells us that the anthem on 14 October 1660 was sung so badly "that it made the King laugh."

But Cooke had not learnt discipline and tactics in vain. He strengthened the boys' parts with wind instruments, and then made a masterly move by putting into force the old Royal Warrant which enabled him, as a kind of press-gang, to take any boy or man from any church or cathedral in the country for service at Whitehall.

In 1661 he took five boys from Newark and Lincoln; and Rochester, Canterbury, Chester, Lichfield, and other places were visited in turn by him for this purpose.

His judgement and insight must have been wonderfully keen, for he not only chose boys with good voices, but boys of great talent, inso-much that out of his first set of choristers no less than six became renowned musicians.

He then made stringent regulations for punctuality and attendance, and put an end to pluralities, whereby singers took two salaries and tried to be in two places at once. He held constant practices: "Did hear Captain Cooke and his boy make trial of an anthem against tomorrow which was brave musique" (23 February 1661), and brought his choir to such a pitch of perfection that the boys could "read anything at sight" (4 September 1664), and could sing in Italian as well as English, for Pepys thought some Italian songs which two of them sang "was fully the best musique that I ever yet heard in all my life" (21 December 1663).

Moreover several of the boys were actually turning out anthems and compositions for the chapel every month. "The anthem was good after sermon being the fifty-first psalme made for five voices by one of Captain Cooke's boys, a pretty boy; and they say there are four or five of them can do as much" (22 November 1663). This shows a marvellous change in less than four years.

Cooke also ventured upon a great change in our English Church Service—possibly prompted thereto by the King who liked the light

French music—and introduced stringed instruments (twenty-four violins) to play interludes and introductions to the Anthems, “a most excellent Anthem with Symphonies between” (7 September 1662). A week afterwards Pepys speaks again of Cooke’s “new musique . . . and very fine it is,” but Evelyn thought it “better suiting a tavern or playhouse than a church.”¹

There can be no doubt that the change was popular and brightened up our English Service which the King thought extremely dull.

Cooke composed many anthems for the Chapel Royal, few of which have come down to us. Though of no great musical calibre they show, as Pepys truly says, “his strange mastery in making extraordinary musical closes,” and their effect was enhanced by Cooke’s own performance of them.

“After sermon a brave anthem of Captain Cooke’s which he himself sung” (12 August 1660); “a poor dry sermon but a very good anthem of Captain Cooke’s afterwards” (7 October 1660).

Sometimes Pepys criticizes adversely: “I could discern Captain Cooke to overdo his part at singing,” and in another place he calls him “a vain coxcomb,” but this was after a bad dinner which had apparently upset Pepys’s digestion.

In 1669 Cooke’s health began to fail and he left London and went to live at Hampton Court, where he died in 1672, and was buried in the East Cloister of Westminster Abbey—an honour which he well deserved.

His exact age is not known, but he was probably about fifty-seven years old.

Though he held many lucrative offices, his salaries—like those of

¹ The novelty did not consist of introducing instruments into the church service but of using the “shrill violins” which were looked upon as vulgar instruments. Will Lawes had already written an anthem with accompaniment for “cornetts and sagbutts” and as early as 1637 the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, paid for two sackbuts and two cornetts in their service in the cathedral. This greatly annoyed the puritan Bishop, Bedell, who likened the service to the “dedication of Nebuchadnezzar’s golden image in the plain of Dura.”

the rest of the King's musicians—were always in arrear, and at his death the Crown owed him more than £1,000. Of this his widow managed to get about one fourth.

Some confusion has arisen between Captain Cooke, and Mr. or Captain Thomas Cooke, the Keeper of the Tennis Courts, from whom Pepys won a shilling at skittles. They do not seem to have been related and Thomas Cooke lived until 1698.

Taken as a whole the extracts from the Diary show that Pepys had a profound respect and admiration for Henry Cooke and his musical powers, and no one can deny that such respect and admiration were thoroughly deserved.

Tom Edwards, Ex-Chorister and Office-Boy

Mr. Pepys's office-boys, or clerks, were not a success when he started his Admiralty work.

"Eli," the first boy, accompanied Pepys on board the *Swiftsure* to Holland, and after a hard day's work at writing "the boy Eliezer flung down a can of beer upon my papers which made me give him a box on the ear, it having spoiled all my papers and cost me a great deal of work" (24 March 1660). So he departed. The next boy, Will Wayneman, a brother of one of Mrs. Pepys's maids, was a thorough pickle, and his various escapades are most amusing reading. Pepys said he was "the most cunning rogue" that he had ever met with, and on more than one occasion accuses him of dishonesty. But the charge is by no means proved, and Pepys thrashed the boy so heavily that he twice hurt his own arm in doing so, and it seems probable that the boy made false confessions of petty thefts in order to escape further flogging.

At last he ran away, and what is more, in his best livery which Pepys had bought him, which consisted of a suit of "gray, trimmed with black and gold lace."

When, a fortnight afterwards, Pepys stumbled across him on Tower Hill, he was so enraged that he took the boy home, stripped him of his livery and sent him off without saying a word.

His feelings overpowered him when he thought of this gorgeous suit having mixed with all the guttersnipes of the neighbourhood for the past fortnight. It is the only occasion when Pepys records that he was speechless!

Then Pepys did a wise thing, and asked Captain Cooke if he could recommend an ex-chorister for the place, and Cooke had exactly the boy on hand named Tom Edwards, who received a most excellent character (which he fully justified), both from Cooke and Blagrove, the chapel organist. With characteristic impetuosity Pepys wanted the boy at once and worried Mr. Townsend (who had the fitting out of all boys going from the King's Chapel), until at length things were ready, and the boy arrived on 27 August 1664, and Pepys says he proposes "to make a clerk of him, and if he deserves well, to do well by him," a vow which he most faithfully kept.

Tom's voice had not broken, and as he could sing anything at sight, his musical talents were in constant request, and Pepys says "it is a great joy to me that I am come to this condition to maintain a person in the house able to give me so much pleasure as this boy do by his thorough knowledge of musique" (4 September 1664); added to this Tom was "a very droll boy and good company" (9 November 1664), so Pepys's cup of home joys was almost full.

For some time Tom had lessons on the lute, but it is evident that he had no real liking for such a difficult instrument, and annoyed Pepys by not practising enough. But this was not the worst. Cooke, meeting Tom, asked how the lute and other studies were progressing, and Tom to shield himself said he "hadn't time for practice," which was certainly untrue. Cooke was vexed with Pepys for not allowing the boy more leisure, and told him so, whereupon Pepys explained matters, and Cooke, vexed at being deceived by Tom, "desired me that I would baste his coat."

But Pepys was so fond of the boy that he rarely chastised him, and the consequence was that Tom was rather spoilt, especially by Mrs. Pepys, who wasted his time by telling him stories "three or four hours together."

This upset Jane, the cook, and led to high words between her and her mistress, and this again led to "high words between my wife and I, but the wench shall go, but I will take a course with the boy for I fear I have spoiled him already" (31 January 1665).

From that time forward Pepys kept a stricter rule, and made the boy walk out with him every morning "because of my wife's making him idle, I dare not leave him at home" (3 February 1665).

At last Tom fell in love with Jane Birch, the chambermaid, and Pepys was pleased, and determined if things at the office went well to give them £50, "and do them all the good I can in any way" (11 February 1668), and, notwithstanding a little upset owing to Jane's jealousy (19 August 1668), matters were all arranged, and they were married at Islington 26 March 1669.

Their married life was short, for Tom died at the early age of thirty-seven, as we learn from a letter from Pepys to Sir Richard Haddock (20 August 1681), and the following year Pepys got Tom's eldest boy into Christ's Hospital.

Tom was a very useful and well behaved servant. Indeed his exemplary behaviour does the greatest credit to his early training at the Chapel Royal, and it is evident that Pepys was exceedingly fond of him, and that the affection was mutual.

If we search all musical history through we shall not find a more interesting trio than Captain Cooke, Mr. Pepys, and his boy Tom.

XIII

DAVENANT'S "OPERAS" ACTED DURING THE LATER YEARS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY

Read 26th March 1904.

PEPYS is a valuable authority on the Opening of the Theatres at the Restoration, and by the light of his Diary we can correct some mistakes in date made by John Downes in his "*Roscius Anglicanus*" (1708).

I cannot, however, deal here with the entire subject, I only propose to set before you a few notes on the remarkable attempts made near the end of the Protectorate to introduce some kind of musical entertainment, to be called an opera, rather than a play, which was then a hated term.

Cromwell seems to have come to the conclusion that the people required some sort of popular amusement. Bulstrode Whitelocke, Serjeant Maynard and others supported this view, and owing to Whitelocke's acquaintance with Sir William Davenant, that industrious dramatist learned that he would be allowed, in spite of previous prohibition, to present a carefully arranged entertainment that should not greatly shock the sentiments of the people who were likely to attend.

Professor Firth printed in the "*English Historical Review*," April 1903 (xviii, 319) a note preserved among the Thurloe Papers in the

Bodleian Library (Rawl. MSS., A xlvi, p. 293), which is possibly in Davenant's handwriting. It has been endorsed in another hand, "Some Observations concerning the People of this Nation." The date of this communication of Davenant to Thurloe was probably early in 1656. If so it proves that a performance of the "divertissement" on the Cruelty of the Spaniards, described later on in this paper, was contemplated some time before 1658.

Davenant writes: "If morall representations may be allow'd (being without obscenenesse, profanenesse & scandall) the first arguments may consist of the Spaniards' barbarous Conquests in the West Indies and their severall cruelties there exercis'd upon the subjects of this nation."

Davenant wished to produce his "Siege of Rhodes," but it was thought best to commence the new undertaking with a specially undramatic piece which would prepare the public for something of a more theatrical character. Therefore there was performed early in 1656 a curious piece entitled "The First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House by Declamations and Musick: after the manner of the Ancients. By Sir W. D. London, Printed by J. M. for H. Herringman,¹ and sold at his shop at the Anchor in New-Exchange in the Lower Walk 1657." 4to.

This is a very rare pamphlet, and in the British Museum copy (one of the Thomason Tracts, E. 1648 (2)) the date is corrected in MS. to "Novemb. 22 1656."

The place of performance was a room built at the back of Rutland House, Aldersgate Street, near what is now Charterhouse Square, and the date of performance was 23rd May 1656.

A most valuable account of the performance is contained among the State Papers, Interregnum (vol. 128, f. 352) which is here printed in full as follows:

¹ By very gross carelessness Herringman's name is invariably printed "Herringham" in Maidment and Logan's Collected Edition of Davenant's Dramatic Works, Edinburgh, 1872, not only on the title-pages of the plays, but in references throughout the book.

The Bills for S^r Will Davenant's Opera are thus Intituled

The Entertainment by Musick and Declarations after the manner of the
Ancients.

The Scene Athens.

Upon friday the 23 of May, 1656 these foresaid Declarations began att the Charterhouse and 5s. a head for the entrance. The expectation was of 400 persons, but there appear'd not above 150 auditors. The roome was narrow, at the end of which was a stage, and on either side two places, railed in, purpled and guilt. The curtayn also that drew before them was of cloth of gold and purple.

After the Prologue (which told them this was but the narrow passage to the Elyzium, their Opera) up came Diogenes and Aristophanes, the first against the Opera, the other for it. Then came up a citizen of Paris, speaking broken English, and a citizen of London, and reproached one another with the defects of each city in their buildings, manners, customes, diet, etc. And in fine the Londoner had the better of itt, who concluded that hee had seene two Crocheteurs in Paris both with heavy burdens on their backs stand complimenting for y^e way with c'est a vous Monsieur: Monsieur vous vous mocquis de Moy, &c. which lasted till they both fell downe under their burden.

The musick was above, in a loouer [Louvre, Fr. *L'ouvert*] hole, railed about and covered with sarcenetts to conceale them; before each speech was consort musick. At the end were songs relating to the Victor (the Protector). The last song ended with deriding Paris and the French, and concluded

"And though a shipp her scutcheon bee
Yet Paris hath noe shipp at Sea."

The first song was made by Hen. Lawes, y^e other by D^r Coleman, who were the composers. The singers were Captain Cooke, Ned Coleman and his wife, another wooman and other inconsiderable voyces. It lasted an houre and a haalfe, and is to continue for 10 dayes, by which time other declamations will be ready.

Mr. Raymond Delacourt communicated a note on the entertainment at Rutland House to *Notes and Queries*, 20 March 1858 (2nd S., v. 231), and quoted "from a contemporaneous MS." without any other

indication of the source. It was, however, a portion of this document in the Record Office.

The printed book does not contain the names of the singers, but ends with this information: "The vocal and instrumental music was compos'd by Doctor Charles Coleman, Captain Henry Cook, Mr. Henry Lawes and Mr. George Hudson."

We have no means of knowing if the Entertainment was kept on for ten days, probably not, but it is pretty certain that no further Declamations were produced. It will be noticed in the paper printed above that the word used is Declarations excepting in the last sentence. The Entertainment was a witty and interesting production, but scarcely one to attract an audience. Pepys may have seen the piece acted, but he does not say so. He read it, however, with pleasure. On 7 February 1664 he wrote: "With great mirth read Sir W. Davenant's two speeches in dispraise of London and Paris, by way of reproach one to another."

Davenant lays great stress upon what he called "moral representations" as his object in producing the public divertissements. He makes Aristophanes express his own views as to this:

I shall learn to avoid such presumption as must shamefully require your pardon, and will not treat of busy, but pleasant assemblies, and particularly of such as meet for recreation by moral representations, adding "But Diogenes is implacably offended at recreation. He would have you all housed like himself, and everyman stay at home in his tub."

Davenant had a happy way of putting his case for rational amusement, and we hope that the didactic *Entertainment* paved the way for the more dramatic "Siege of Rhodes," which was produced shortly after 3 September 1656; this date we obtain from Whitelocke's "Memorials of English Affairs," which contains an interesting letter from Davenant to Whitelocke:

MY LORD,

When I consider the nicety of the Times I fear it may draw a curtain between your Lordship and our Opera; therefore I have presumed to send your

Lordship, hot from the press, what we mean to represent making your Lordship my supreme Judge, though I despair to have the Honour of inviting you to be a Spectator. I do not conceive the perusal of it worthy any part of your Lordship's leisure, unless your ancient relation to the Muses make you not unwilling to give a like entertainment to Poetry: though in so mean a dress as this and coming from my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM DAVENANT.

From this letter we learn that the "Siege of Rhodes" was in print on 3 September, and that the date of performance was already arranged.

I possess a copy of this first edition, which is of great interest from the important information it contains respecting the plan, the scenery, the composers, and the actors.

"The Siege of Rhodes made a Representation by the Art of Prospective in Scenes. And the Story sung in Recitative Musick. At the back part of Rutland House in the upper end of Aldersgate-Street, London. London Printed by J. M. for Henry Herringman, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the Anchor, on the Lower-Walk in the New-Exchange, 1656." 4to, title-page, "To the Reader," signed "Will Davenant," and dated "August 17." 2 leaves, "The Persons Represented," 1 leaf. Signatures B to F in fours, pp. 1-40, "The Story Personated," 1 leaf.

The pagination is incorrectly printed and runs as follows: pp. 1-33, 38, 39, 36, 37, 34, 35, 40.

The British Museum copy, E 498(6), has the same pagination as my copy, but the second copy in the Museum (644 d 68) is as follows: 1-25, 29, 27, 33, 38, 39, 36, 37, 34, 35, 40.

We are told in the Address "To the Reader":

It has been often wisht that our Scenes (we have oblig'd our selves to the variety of five changes according to the ancient Drammatick distinctions made for time) had not been confin'd to eleven foot in height, and about fifteen in

depth, including the places of passage reserv'd for the Musick. This is so narrow an allowance for the Fleet of Solyman the Magnificent, his army, the Island of Rhodes, and the varieties attending the Siege of the City; that I fear you will think, we invite you to such a contract'd trifle as that of the Cæsars carv'd upon a nut. . . .

We conceive, it will not be acceptable to you if we recompence the narrowness of the room, by containing in it so much as could be conveniently accomplish'd by Art and Industry: which will not be doubted in the Scenes by those who can judg that kind of illustration and know the excellency of M^r John Web,¹ who design'd and order'd it. The Musick was compos'd and both the Vocal and Instrumental is exercis'd by the most transcendent of England in that Art and perhaps not unequal to the best Masters abroad, but being Recitative and therefore unpractis'd here; though of great reputation amongst other Nations, the very attempt of it is an obligation to our own.

THE PERSONS REPRESENTED

Solyman, The Magnificent.
Villerius, Grand Master of Rhodes.
Alphonso, A Cicilian Duke.
Admiral of Rhodes.
Pirrhus Bassa.
Mustapha Bassa.
Ianthe, Wife to Alphonso.

The Scene, Rhodes.

It will be seen that Roxolana, who afterwards became the chief character in the opera, is not introduced into this first draught.

After page 40, ending with "Finis," is a single leaf. On the *recto*:

THE STORY PERSONATED

Solyman. Captain Henry Cook.
Villerius { Mr. Gregory Thorndel, and } Double parted.
 { Mr. Dubartus Hunt. }

¹ Webb was the pupil and executor of Inigo Jones, as well as his successor. He was associated with the great architect in his production of Masques.

<i>Alphonso</i>	{ Mr. Edward Coleman, and Mr. Roger Hill.	} Double parted.
<i>Admiral</i>	{ Mr. Mathew Lock and Mr. Peter Symon.	} Double parted.
<i>Pirrrhus</i>	{ Mr. John Harding and Mr. Alphonso March.	} Double parted.
<i>Mustapha</i>	{ Mr. Thomas Blagrove and Mr. Henry Purcell	} Double parted.
<i>Ianthe</i>	Mrs. Coleman, wife to Mr. Edward Coleman.	

On the *verso* of this leaf:

The Composition of Vocal Musick was perform'd

The	{	First Entry	by	{	Mr. Henry Lawes.
		Second Entry			Capt. Henry Cook.
		Third Entry			Capt. Henry Cook.
		Fourth Entry			Mr. Matthew Lock.
		Fifth Entry			Mr. Henry Lawes.

The Instrumental Musick was compos'd by

Dr. Charles Coleman and Mr. George Hudson.

The Instrumental Musick is perform'd

By	{	Mr. William Webb.
		Mr. Christopher Gibons.
		Mr. Humphry Madge.
		Mr. Thomas Balser, a German.
		Mr. Thomas Baites.
		Mr. John Banister.

The leaf headed "The Story Personated" in the two copies in the British Museum is only printed on the *recto*, and ends with the names of the two composers, the six names of the performers being omitted. Also the characters are not "double parted," and the names of Hunt,

Hill, Symon, March, and Blaggrave are omitted, and Purcell's name is spelt "Persill."

The Bodleian copy (Malone, 57) has two lists of "The Story Personated"; one complete as set forth here from my copy, and another similar to the two copies in the British Museum, printed only on one side. There is also a MS. list.

These names form an agreeable addition to our knowledge of the musical history of the time. What sort of a run this early form of the "Siege of Rhodes" had we are unable to say. There is no record of any further opera by Davenant until 1658, when he was allowed to open the Cockpit in Drury Lane for the production of his operas.

"The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, Exprest by Instrumentall and Vocall Musick, and by Art of Perspective in Scenes &c. Represented daily at the Cockpit in Drury Lane at three afternoone punctually. London Printed for Henry Herringman and are to be sold at his shop at the Anchor in the Lower Walk in the New-Exchange, 1658." 4^o title page, The Description of the Frontispiece; The Argument of the whole Designe, consisting of six Entries, 1 leaf, p. 27 (sigs. A to D in fours).

There is no note of the music nor list of the performers, but on p. 27, after *Finis*, is this note: "Notwithstanding the great expence necessary to Scenes and other Ornament in this Entertainment, there is a good provision made of places for a shilling. And it shall begin certainly at 3 after noon." This charge of one shilling may be compared with the mention of five shillings on a previous page.

Cromwell is reported to have specially approved of the performance of "The Cruelty of the Spaniards."

In the re-arrangement of Dryden's "Miscellanies," 1727 (vol. iii, p. 318), is printed "A Ballad against the Opera, The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, writ by Sir W. D'Avenant."

The fourth of Davenant's little "operas" to be printed was "The History of S^r Francis Drake. Exprest by Instrumentall and Vocall Musick, and by Art of Perspective in Scenes &c. The First Part Represented daily at the Cockpit in Drury Lane at Three Afternoon punctually. London Printed for Henry Herringman, and are to be sold at his shop at the Anchor in the Lower Walk in the New Exchange 1659." 4°, pp. 37.

We have no information as to any objection made to the performances at Rutland House, but there were evidently complaints respecting the opening of the Cockpit, for according to the "Publick Intelligence from Monday 20 December to Monday 27 December 1658" Richard Cromwell ordered a report to be drawn up with regard to the performance of opera at the Cockpit, and to examine by what authority it was "exposed to publick view."

Professor Firth kindly gives me further information respecting the action taken on this point. The following is from the Proceedings of Richard Cromwell's House of Lords, 15 February 1658:

The Lords being acquainted that notwithstanding the lawes against Stage playes and Interludes yet there are Stage playes Interludes and things of the like nature called Opera acted to the scandall of religion and of the Gov^mnt^t ¹

Ordered

That it be referred to a Com^{tee} to Consid^r of the p^rsent Debate and to p^ruse the lawes w^{ch} have been made against Stage Playes Interludes and meetings of like nature and how farre the same Doe extend and wherein they are defective as also what remedy may be applied for the present suppressing and preventing such meetings and to report their opinion thereon to the house.

Whitelocke & 17 others were appointed to form the Committee, but it never reported.

This is printed at the end of vol. iv (new series) of the House of Lords MSS., 1908, p. 537 (Historical MSS. Commission Reports).

¹ *I.e.*, "Government," apparently a contraction misread by the transcriber.

This completes the Notes on Davenant's attempt to revive to a certain extent dramatic representations during the Commonwealth period, but a further note may be added respecting the use which he made of these pieces after the Restoration. "The First Day's Entertainment" was a plea for the stage addressed to those who disapproved of it, and therefore was not needed when the majority already approved. The other three pieces Davenant utilized for the revived stage.

The "Siege of Rhodes," with a revised first part and an entirely new second part obtained a great success. Pepys wrote on 2 June 1661:

Home and after my singing master had done, took coach and went to Sir William Davenant's Opera; this being the fourth day that it hath begun and the first that I have seen it. To-day was acted the second part of "The Siege of Rhodes":

This corrects Rhodes's misstatement ("Roscius Anglicanus") that Davenant opened his House in the spring of 1662.

The two parts of the "Siege of Rhodes" were published together in 1663:

"The Siege of Rhodes: The first and second Part; as they were lately Represented at His Highness the Duke of York's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The first Part being lately enlarg'd. Written by Sir William D'Avenant, London. Printed for Henry Herringman and are to be sold at his Shop at the sign of the Anchor, on the Lower Walk in the New-Exchange 1663 4°."

I have three copies, with the same title-page, but each is differently printed. Roxolana appears in all three copies of the first part, but the first copy contains only two passages where she is introduced, while in the two others there are three passages.

I. Title-page, dedication to the Earl of Clarendon, A2-3. "The Persons represented (list as in first edition), 1 leaf. To the Reader, A2-3. The Persons represented (full list), 1 leaf. B to F in fours (pp. 1-40). P. 20 ends with a long speech by Alphonso, p. 21 contains chorus of Men and Women. There is no entry of Roxolana as in the other two copies. Verso of p. 27 unnumbered. "Enter Roxolana, Pirrhus, Rustan and two of her Women." P. 38, "Enter Roxolana and Women Attendants."

II. A to F in fours (title-page 1 leaf, pp. 1-46). P. 23, "Enter Roxolana, Pirrhus, Rustan. P. 32, "Enter Roxolana, Pirrhus, Rustan, and two of her Women." P. 44, "Enter Roxolana and Women Attendants."

The dedication and full list of "Persons represented" are placed at the beginning of the second part.

III. Title-page, dedication to the Earl of Clarendon, A2-3. The Persons represented, 1 leaf. B to F 3 in fours, pp. 3-39. P. 20, "Enter Roxolana, Pirrhus, Rustan," between Speech of Alphonso and Chorus. P. 27, "Enter Roxolana, Pirrhus, Rustan, and two of her Women." P. 37, "Enter Roxolana and Women Attendants."

The copy in the British Museum, 643 i. 19(1), is identical with No. II. The copy in the Bodleian (Malone, 102) is also the same as No. II with the exception that the Dedication A2-3 and one leaf of "Persons Represented" are inserted between the title-page and A2.

The first part, although added to by the introduction of Roxolana and others retains its old form with five Entries. The second part is divided into five acts and scenes. The printing is the same in all copies. Pepys's song, "Beauty Retire," is Solymán's address to his wife Roxolana at the end of the fourth act.

Pepys always mentions the second part as that which he saw acted. Downes refers to both parts as being rehearsed, but if the first part was given it must, one would think, have been produced as a prelude

to the second part. Being different in form the two would not go well together.

In the Bodleian copy (Malone, 102) the names of some of the performers are written on the leaf of "The Persons Represented" as follows: Solyman, Mr. Betterton; Haly, Mr. Downes, afterwards Prompter for 44 years; Villerius, Mr. Littleton; Alphonso, Mr. Harris; Admiral, Mr. Blagden; Roxolana, Mrs. Davenport; Ianthe, Mrs. Saunderson. The following note is added: "The King and the Duke of York were present at the first representation of this piece in Lincoln's Inn Fields in spring 1662" [should be May 1661].

Mrs. Elizabeth Davenport made a great success in the part of Roxolana, but only for a very short time, as the last Earl of Oxford of the De Vere family deceived her with a false marriage, which caused her to leave the stage. She was succeeded by Mrs. Norton, who greatly pleased Pepys. He wrote on 27 December 1662: "Saw the new Roxolana which do it better in all respects for person, voice and judgment than the first Roxolana."

He was very anxious to obtain the original music, and Darnell, a fiddler at Davenant's theatre, promised to get it for him, which made him "mighty glad" (22 January 1666-7). Many inquiries for this music have been made, but I have the authority of Mr. Barclay Squire for saying that it has not yet been found.

Pepys was a great admirer of the "Siege of Rhodes" and praised it immoderately. He wrote:

Oct. 1, 1665. We spent most of the morning talking and reading "The Siege of Rhodes" which is certainly (the more I read it the more I think so) the best poem that ever was wrote.

Davenant used his "Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru" and the "History of Sir Francis Drake" after the Restoration by combining them with other matter to form a five-act play entitled "The Playhouse

to be let," which is printed in Davenant's Works, 1673, folio. This nondescript play is made up as follows:

Act 1 consists of an introductory talk between the persons employed in the theatre.

Act 2 a translation in broken English of Molière's "Sganarelle ou le Cocu Imaginaire."

Act 3, "History of Sir Francis Drake." This is introduced by a talk between the Housekeeper and Player:

House Keeper. Now we shall be in *Stilo Recitativo*
I'm in a trance when I hear vocal music;
And in that trance inclin'd to prophecy
That 'twill bring us inundations of shillings.

Player. Thou understand'st recitative music
As much as a dray-horse does Greek.

Act 4, Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru.

Act 5, "Tragedy Travestie" (a burlesque on the Amours of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra).

We have little information respecting the acting of this play, but there is reason to believe that it was first produced in 1663. At the end of the second act is a song sung by Mrs. Gosnell, which is interesting as a definite fact illustrating Pepys's Diary. Gosnell for a short time in 1662 was companion to Mrs. Pepys, and Pepys greatly admired her singing and dancing, but she was not suited for such service and expected to be allowed to gad about, so that the connection was soon terminated, and Gosnell joined Davenant's company as an actress. Pepys mentions her performances in the "Slighted Maid," the "Rivals," and the "Tempest." There is, however, little to be gathered respecting her in published theatrical histories.

We require more information respecting the success or otherwise of Davenant's heroic attempt to give the public during the later Commonwealth period some entertainments of a dramatic character, and what opposition it may have provoked. Perhaps the statement in these

notes of what is known respecting these interesting little pieces, which throw some light on the musical history of this time, may lead to the discovery of further information. The late Mr. Joseph's Knight's claim for the distinction of "The Siege of Rhodes" as set forth in the Dictionary of National Biography is well founded. He wrote:

It is in some respects the most epoch-marking play in the language. It was sung "*stilo recitativo*," and was practically the first opera produced in England; scenery was for the first time employed in a play as distinguished from a masque; and it introduced upon the stage the first Englishwoman (Mrs. Coleman) who ever in an English drama appeared upon it.

XIV

A CLERICAL FRIEND OF PEPYS

BY SIR ERNEST CLARKE, M.A., F.S.A.

Read 1 April 1914.

IT is a little remarkable that the lyrical qualifications of the once famous ecclesiastic of Stuart times of whom I am to speak this evening have been so completely forgotten in modern days, that his name is not even mentioned in Canon Julian's standard "Dictionary of Hymnology." Yet Bishop Fuller was not only a good classical scholar, but wrote at least five hymns which were considered by our great English composer, Henry Purcell, of sufficient merit to be set to music by himself. These, in the order in which they were included in Henry Playford's "Harmonia Sacra," were: (1) "An Evening Hymn" (vol. i, 1688, p. 1); (2) "A Morning Hymn"—commencing "Thou watchful Shepherd, that dost Israel keep" (vol. i, p. 3); (3) "In the black dismal dungeon of Despair" (vol. i, p. 25); (4) "How have I strayed, my God, where have I been?" (vol. i, p. 68); and (5) "Lord, what is man, lost man, that Thou should'st be so mindful of him" (vol. ii, 1693, p. 1), which last is headed, "A Divine Hymn. Words by Dr. William Fuller, formerly Lord Bishop of Lincoln. Set by Mr. Purcell"; and has an elaborate Hallelujah twenty-eight bars long at the end. These five hymns reappear in vol. iii of Vincent Novello's four volumes of "Purcell's Sacred Music," published in 1828-32.

We shall have an opportunity later on in the evening of hearing the first of these hymns as set by Purcell to the following words of Bishop Fuller:



DR. WILLIAM FULLER, BISHOP OF LINCOLN

Now that the Sun hath veiled his Light,
And bid the world good night,
To the soft Bed my Body I dispose;
But where, where shall my soul repose?
 Dear God, even in Thine arms;
 And can there be
 Any so sweet security?
 Then to thy rest,
O my Soul! and, singing, praise
The mercy that prolongs thy Days.
 Hallelujah!

This fine hymn has recently been scored by Dr. R. Vaughan Williams for an orchestra of strings. That Purcell himself thought highly of it seems probable from the fact that it is placed at the very commencement of vol. i of "Harmonia Sacra," which Purcell edited, and which was published in 1688 under the title of "Harmonia Sacra: or Divine Hymns and Dialogues. . . . Printed by Edward Jones, for Henry Playford, at his shop near Temple Church." Playford, in his preface "To the Reader," says "the Musical Part was compos'd by the most skilful Masters of this Age: and though some of them are now dead, yet their composures have been review'd by Mr. Henry Purcell, whose tender Regard for the Reputation of those great men made him careful that nothing should be published which, through the negligence of Transcribers, might reflect upon their memory." The hymn consists of one verse only, with many repetitions of the phrases after the fashion of the time, and a Hallelujah at the end expanded to forty-six bars of music.

The claim of William Fuller upon the attention of the Pepys Club is that he was an intimate friend of the Diarist, though twenty-five years his senior, and that there are many references to this "comely and becoming prelate" in the Diary. He was born in London in 1608, and was the son of Thomas Fuller, a merchant in the City. He was educated at Westminster School, from which he went to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, as a commoner about 1626. He afterwards migrated to St. Edmund's

Hall, where he took the degree of B.C.L. about 1632. After admission to holy orders he was appointed one of the chaplains or petty canons of Christ Church Cathedral. He was presented by King Charles I to the rectory of St. Mary Woolchurch in the City of London on 30 June 1641, but resigned it on 16 December of the same year, when he was appointed Rector of Ewhurst in Sussex. When Charles I shut himself up in Oxford in 1645, Fuller became chaplain to Edward, Lord Lyttleton, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. As an ardent loyalist he suffered greatly in the Civil Wars, and at the parliamentary visitation of Oxford University he lost his position at Christ Church. For this splendid foundation he always retained great reverence, as in his will, dated two days before his death, he bequeathed to Christ Church "my Picture, Chest of Violls and Organ, wishing myself more able to express my Affection in some more rich Legacie." The Chest of Violls and the Organ appear, so the present Dean tells me, to have disappeared, but the Picture, *i.e.*, Fuller's portrait, is fortunately still preserved. It used formerly to hang in the famous Hall, but is now removed to the Chapter-house; and from it the accompanying illustration has been taken.

During the Commonwealth Fuller had to live in retirement, keeping a small school at Twickenham. We hear of him and Twickenham on a very early page of Pepys's Diary. On the morning of 16 January 1660 Pepys went to Mr. Crew's, "and at his bedside he gave me direction to go to-morrow with Mr. Edward to Twickenham, and likewise did talk to me concerning things of State" (Wheatley's "Pepys," i, 20). John Crew (1598-1679), afterwards created in 1661 Baron Crew of Stene at Whitehall, was at this time one of the Council of State of the Commonwealth. Pepys was apparently to take young Edward Montagu, son of his patron, down to the school kept by Fuller at Twickenham. On 17 January "early, I went to Mr. Crew's, and having given Mr. Edward money to give the servants, I took him into the coach that waited for us and carried him to my house . . . where my wife was ready, and so we went towards Twickenham. . . . We came about one of the clock to

Mr. Fuller's, but he was out of town, so we had a dinner there, and I gave the child 40s. to give to the two ushers. After that we parted, and went homewards, it being market-day at Brainford " [Brentford] (21-2). Next day, 18 January, the Twickenham pedagogue seems to have looked up Pepys at the Crown Inn in King Street, Westminster, where he and some boon companions had been "very merry." "While I was here Mr. Fuller came thither and staid a little while" (23).

At the Restoration, Pepys and Fuller both got preferment—the former as Clerk of the Acts, the latter as Dean of St. Patrick's. On 22 June 1660, "my dear friend Mr. Fuller of Twickenham and I dined alone at the Sun Tavern, where he told me how he had the grant of being Dean of St. Patrick's in Ireland; and I told him my condition, and both rejoiced one for another." (i, 181.) Not long after, after signing on 9 August 1660 some things "at my office of Privy Seal," Pepys went "with Mr. Moore and Dean Fuller to the Leg [Tavern] in King Street, and, sending for my wife, we dined there very merry, and after dinner parted." (218.) On 1 September Pepys dined at the Bull Head Tavern as one of several guests of Mr. Goodman, a friend of Moore's, "upon the best venison pasty that ever I eat of in my life. . . . Here arose in discourse at table a dispute between Mr. Moore and Dr. Clerke, and left it to me to be judge, and the cause to be determined next Tuesday morning at the same place, upon the eating of the remains of the pasty, and the loser to spend 10s." (233.) On Tuesday 4 September Pepys went to the Bullhead, "where I did give my verdict against Mr. Moore upon last Saturday's wager, where Dr. Fuller coming in do confirm me in my verdict." (235.)

Next year, on Sunday 7 April 1661, Pepys, after making up his accounts, "put in at Paul's," and "so to White Hall, and there I met with Dr. Fuller of Twickenham, newly come from Ireland, and took him to my Lord's, where he and I dined." (ii, 3-4.) On another Sunday—9 June—Pepys went to Whitehall "and there met with Dean Fuller, and walked a great while with him. . . . By-and-by we went and got a

sculler," and Pepys landed the Dean at Worcester House. (51-2.) On 26 June Pepys went "to dine with my Lady at the Wardrobe, taking Dean Fuller along with me." (59.) Again, on 7 August, he was "at my Lady's, whither I went with Dean Fuller, who came to my house to see me just as I was come home." (77.) On a third Sunday—12 January 1662—"at noon, Sir W. Pen and my good friend Dean Fuller by appointment, and my wife's brother by chance, dined with me very merry and handsomely. After dinner, the Dean, my wife and I, by Sir W. Pen's coach left us, he to Whitehall and my wife and I to visit Mrs. Pierce." (169.) On 20 May, "Sir W. Pen and I did a little business at the office, and so home again. Then comes Dean Fuller after we had dined, but I got something for him, and very merry we were for an hour or so, and I am most pleased with his company and goodness." (238.) On 11 August Pepys "dined at home all alone, and so to my office again, whither Dean Fuller came to see me, and having business about a ship to carry his goods to Dublin, whither he is shortly to return, I went with him to the Hermitage . . . and I did give orders for them to be well looked after." (304.)

There is an interval of four years before Fuller is again mentioned in the Diary. On 18 July 1666 Pepys called at "Lilly's"—*i.e.*, Peter Lely, the painter (afterwards knighted in 1679)—for an appointment for the painting of the portrait of Sir William Penn which is now at Greenwich Hospital. "And so full of work Lilly is, that he was fain to take his table-book out to see how his time is appointed, and appointed six days hence for him [Penn] to come between seven and eight in the morning. Thence with him home: and there by appointment I find Dr. Fuller, now Bishop of Limericke in Ireland; whom I knew in his low condition at Twittenham. I had also by his desire Sir W. Pen, and with him his lady and daughter, and had a good dinner, and find the Bishop the same good man as ever: and, in a word, kind to us, and, methinks, one of the comeliest and most becoming prelates in all respects that ever I saw in my life." (v, 367.) On 15 March 1667 Pepys

"met Dr. Fuller of Limricke, and walked an hour with him in the Court talking of newes only, and he do think that matters will be bad for us." (vi, 224.)

Pepys refers under date 29 July 1667 (vii, 49), to a competition for the Bishopric of Lincoln between Dr. Henry Glenham of St. Asaph and Edward Rainbow of Carlisle, which was solved on 17 September by the appointment of a third candidate. Pepys met on 25 September, in the Gallery at Whitehall, Dr. Fuller, "who to my great joy is made, which I did not hear before, Bishop of Lincoln." (124.) On 6 November 1667, Pepys went to the House of Lords, "and there first saw Dr. Fuller, as Bishop of Lincoln, to sit among the Lords." (187.) On 23 January 1668, "at the office all the morning: and at noon find the Bishop of Lincoln come to dine with us . . . and there mighty good company. But the Bishop a very extraordinary good-natured man." This is followed by a description of their conversation on the topics of the day. (291.) On 23 March 1668 Pepys went to Whitehall "expecting to have heard the Bishop of Lincoln, my friend, preach, for so I understood he would do yesterday, but was mistaken, and therefore away presently back again." (372.) Pepys does not give any opinion as to Fuller's sermons, or refer to his lyrical or musical qualifications; but he obviously counted him as one of his best friends, and the impression the Diary leaves of the Bishop is a very pleasant and agreeable one.

As indicated above, Fuller's promotion was rapid after the Restoration. He was appointed Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in 1660, and was made D.C.L. of Oxford and D.D. of Cambridge in the same year. On 27 January 1661 he was a prominent figure at the consecration in St. Patrick's Cathedral of no less than twelve Irish bishops, including Jeremy Taylor. From the account of this ceremony in the Annals of St. Patrick's Cathedral (1820) it would appear that he "composed an anthem"—*Quem denuo exaltavit Dominus coronam*—for the occasion. Possibly he did so, but what seems more likely is that he wrote the words of this so-called "anthem," which is little more than a pæan of

praise at the restoration of the monarchy. "Sceptre and rod rule still and guide our Land: And those whom God annoints feel no rude hand," is really the burden of it. In 1663 Fuller was consecrated Bishop of Limerick, and in 1667 was, after some wire-pulling, translated to Lincoln, where, amongst other good works, he restored the monument of St. Hugh and gave benefactions to the Cathedral Library. He died unmarried at "Kensington, near London," on 23 April 1675, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral.

XV

NOTES ON THE FALSE MESSIAH, SABBATAI ZEVI

BY SAMUEL PEPYS COCKERELL, JUN.

Read 1st April 1914.

ON the 19th of February 1665-6 Pepys was buying some books at his bookseller's in St. Paul's Churchyard, when he heard the following news which he records in his Diary:

Here I am told for certain, what I have heard once or twice already, of a Jew in town, that in the name of the rest do offer to give any man £10 to be paid £100 if a certain person now at Smyrna be within these two years owned by all the Princes of the East, and particularly the grand Signor as the King of the world, and in the same manner as we do the King of England here, and that this man is the true Messiah. One named a friend of his that had received ten pieces in gold upon this score, and says that the Jew hath disposed of £1,100 in this manner, which is very strange; and certainly this year of 1666 will be a year of great action; but what the consequences of it will be, God knows!

Pepys here refers to the mystic number 666, or the mark of the Beast, respecting which he had bought a book on the previous day from his bookseller. This man to whom Pepys refers but does not name was Sabbatai Zevi, who was born at Smyrna in 1626. John Evelyn gave a full account of him in his "History of the three late famous Impostors—viz. Padre Ottomano, Mahomed Bei, and Sabatai Sevi," London 1669. (Reprinted in Evelyn's Miscellaneous Writings, 1825, pp. 563-620.)

Sabbatai Zevi was an ascetic, and was easily susceptible to fancies such as might be awakened by a prevailing popular belief that the year 1666 would be marked by the deliverance of the Jews. By his Rabbinical erudition he drew around him a circle of enthusiasts. Fancies grew into convictions, and as he wandered through Egypt and the Holy Land, after being successively expelled from Smyrna, Salonika and Constantinople, all doubt left him as to the divinity of his nature. His marriage with a beautiful Polish Jewess, Sarah, who had escaped to Amsterdam, and had subsequently lived at Leghorn, proclaiming that she was destined to wed the Messiah, still further fortified his position. He returned to the Holy Land and was received with enthusiasm at Jerusalem. He proceeded in 1665 in triumph through Jaffa and Aleppo to Smyrna, his native home, was declared the eldest son of God and his decrees were issued by his secretary, signed "I, the Lord your God, Sabbatai Tsevi."

His fame was spread widely over the world and his followers were known as Sabbateans, and by his opponents as Dönmehs (turncoats). Enemies attempted to crush Sabbatai, and he was brought to Constantinople in chains and thence transported to the Castle of Abydos. Here, surrounded by the faithful, and supported by his wife Sarah, he was visited by thousands of Jews, who came even from Poland, Venice, and Amsterdam to see him. Sabbatai was, however, accused by a rival at Adrianople of stirring the Jews to revolt, and was brought before the Sultan for examination. The Sultan, to test his miraculous powers, ordered the archers to shoot at Sabbatai to see if the arrows would rebound from the body of the supposed Messiah. The courage of the victim failed him at this alarming test, and he threw himself upon the Sultan's mercy. In return for forgiveness he embraced the Mohammedan faith. His cause was to a great extent lost, and he died in comparative obscurity at Dulcigno in 1676, but a considerable number of people continued to believe in him, and disciples sprang up and were successful in winning adherents in the Greek isles, in Egypt, in Poland, and in

Austria. The Dönmehs still number 10,000 souls, 6,000 of whom reside in Salonika.

This is, I think, the solution of the passage in Pepys's Diary which has not previously been explained.

The Rev. S. Levy has been so good as to give me the following note on the literature of the subject: "For the life of Sabbatai Zevi, see H. Graetz, 'History of the Jews,' v, 125-176. Graetz (v, 149) mentions the wagers in London in much the same terms as Pepys uses—

Believers living in London in English fashion offered wagers at the odds of ten to one that Sabbatai would be anointed king at Jerusalem within two years, and drew formal bills of exchange upon the issue.

See also 'The Jewish Encyclopedia,' xi, 218-225, *s.v.* 'Shabbethai Zebi. B. Mordecai.' Here (xi, 223-224) a different reason for Sabbatai's change of faith is given which is probably more correct than the unconfirmed tradition given above:

Shabbethai was now taken from Abydos to Adrianople, where the Sultan's physician, a former Jew, advised Shabbethai to embrace Islam as the only means of saving his life. Shabbethai realised the danger of his situation and adopted the physician's advice. On the following day, being brought before the Sultan, he cast off his Jewish garb and put a Turkish turban on his head, and thus his conversion to Islam was accomplished.

The references to Sabbatai Zevi in the English State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles II, are quoted in 'Anglo-Jewish Historiography,' by the Rev. S. Levy, in 'Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England,' vi, 17. The same paper gives a list of rare English tracts relating to Sabbatai Zevi (*ibid.*, 17, 18). Israel Zangwill has a chapter on 'The Turkish Messiah' in his 'Dreamers of the Ghetto.'"

The special references to the State Papers are:

November 10, 1665. H.O.— to Williamson. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles II, 1665-6, p. 50.

July 12, 1666. Thomas Chapell to James Fitton, Chester. Calendar 1665-6, p. 526.

October 11, 1666. "From Smyrna comes an account of a fresh gadding humour of the Jews to visit their imprisoned Messiah, whose authority is now so great with them as to turn their fast for the destruction of the Temple into a day of rejoicing because it is his birthday." Calendar, 1666-7, pp. 191-2.

[The meeting of the Club on the 1st of April 1914, at which this paper was read, was the last before the breaking out of the War, which caused the suspension of the meetings for the time being. On the 20th of March 1915 Second Lieutenant Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Royal Flying Corps, died suddenly from acute small-pox at Ismailia, and the Club has to deplore the loss of a young member who was greatly interested in our Society from its object, and his hereditary feeling towards our hero whose names he bore. The only son of Mr. and Mrs. William Cockerell, he was born in 1880, and educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. At both these places he distinguished himself as a fine oarsman. He entered the Foreign Office in 1902, and was there for eight years, during which period he was attached for two years (1906-1908) to His Majesty's Embassy at Madrid as Commercial Attaché to Spain and Portugal. His energy and zeal in the prosecution of the duties of his mission resulted in the virtual foundation of the British Chamber of Commerce in Barcelona. His commercial experience in Spain convinced him that financial business was more congenial to him than official routine, and he quitted the Foreign Office in 1910.

Later he visited Constantinople, and the great interest he took in the Spanish Jews who were settled in Turkey, led to his writing the article which he contributed to "The Times" Spanish Supplement of 29 June 1914, on "Spanish Jews in Turkey, a Story of Expulsion from Spain," in which he gave an account of the history of Sabbatai Zevi.

He was keenly interested in aviation, and took his pilot's certificate in 1911. On the outbreak of war he immediately joined the Royal Flying Corps (in the Special Reserve of which he had been for some months a probationer), and on 4 November 1914 left with a Flight to join the Expeditionary Force in Egypt. Up to the time of his death he was doing duty as pilot and observer over the Sinai Desert, in itself a dangerous service owing to the prevalence of sudden sandstorms and the mountainous and rocky nature of the country which makes risks of landing so great in case of engine failure. When the Turks made their attempt on the defences of the Suez Canal in February 1915, he was frequently under fire, and his services were highly praised by General Sir John Maxwell, Commander-in-Chief in Egypt, as well as by the General commanding at Ismailia, who testified to the great military value of his air reconnaissances. Lieut. Cockerell, moreover, saw something of active fighting in January 1915, as being temporarily incapacitated for flying owing to a broken arm caused through an aeroplane accident, he was sent as Intelligence Officer on a British Cruiser and was in several sharp skirmishes in connection with the operations against the Turks off the coast of Asia Minor.

Lieutenant Cockerell was an ardent Imperialist and left a small sum of money to found a prize at Eton. The College authorities acceded to his wish and the first examination for the "Samuel Pepys Cockerell Imperial History and Geography Prize" was held in February of the present year.

From his schooldays onward, Lieutenant Cockerell was a man of many friends, whom he strongly influenced for good by his enthusiastic fulfilment of duty. His name is a worthy addition to the sadly increasing and never to be forgotten Roll of Honour.

We have to thank the Rev. S. Levy, who was Lieutenant Cockerell's guest at the meeting, for his bibliographical note and kind help in the correct presentment of this paper.—ED.]

XVI
THE GROWTH OF THE FAME OF SAMUEL
PEPYS¹

BY H. B. WHEATLEY, D.C.L.

Read 23 February 1916.

THE Fame of Pepys is of two kinds.

1. The public appreciation of the perfect official and of the founder of the modern Navy, a fame which continued during his life time, but died out soon afterwards, except at the Admiralty, where it has continued to the present time.

2. The revelation of an entirely new man, unknown before, owing to the publication of the most remarkable "human document" which has ever seen the light; but this did not happen until the year 1825, when the Diary was first published.

How completely Pepys was forgotten by the outer world we may infer from the Preface to "The Economy of the Navy Office" (1717); the Editor of which work gives a good account of the history of the Navy Office, but entirely omits the name of Pepys, who therefore receives no credit for the great work he performed. This was probably owing to political feeling after the Revolution, which condemned the actions of Pepys as those of a suspected Jacobite.

I

We may doubt whether Pepys as the great official had an extended fame. He was esteemed by most of those who knew him best. He was

¹ In consequence of the War the dinners of the Club were temporarily discontinued. At the end of the year 1915 some of the members suggested that a quiet dinner without guests might occasionally be held, and in consequence of this expression of opinion a dinner of twenty members was held on Pepys's birthday, 23 February 1916, at the Imperial Restaurant.

valued by his two royal masters—Charles II and James II—by his fellow officials, more particularly by Sir William Coventry, and by such intimate friends as Evelyn, Newton, Dryden, and many others. He did not wish to pose before the public, but was content with the respect of those whose opinion was of value. Evelyn did him the great honour of placing him by the side of Sir Christopher Wren as an intellectual equal. On 19 February 1671 Evelyn wrote in his Diary:

This day din'd with me Mr. Surveyor—Dr. Christopher Wren, and Mr. Pepys Clerk of the Act, two extraordinary ingenious and knowing persons, and other friends.

On Pepys's death Evelyn recorded in his Diary under date 26 May 1703:

This day died Mr. Sam. Pepys, a very worthy industrious and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the Navy, in which he had passed through all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all which he performed with great integrity. . . . He was universally below'd, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very great cherisher of learned men, of whom he had the conversation. His library and collection of other curiosities were of the most considerable, the models of ships especially.

Thomas Lord Bruce, afterwards 2nd Earl of Ailesbury, who was a personal friend of Pepys, thus eulogizes him in his remarkable *Memoirs* printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1890.

Mr. Samuel Pepys (England never produced such another in his station) . . . was unfortunately set aside and one Brisben [John Brisband], a tool in comparison of the other, succeeded and instead of Lord High Admiral the King put it in commission and appointed seven or nine to execute, and not one that understood the least of the theory part, or had ever seen a ship of war; all members of the House of Commons or the greater part. All things in the Navy succeeded accordingly. The first thing they did was to contract with Sir Henry Johnson, and other shipbuilders at Blackwall, and to build thirty men of war or

thereabouts of the second and third rates, and as all contracts by the great are dangerous, so it happened in very few years, for scarce two of the thirty kept sound, but were eaten by the worm, and they were obliged to repair some and neglect the others as useless after so vast a charge. These Commissioners were often altered as to changes of name, but the proverb was supported "From the frying pan into the Fire."

On Pepys's retirement from the Admiralty he was known as the "Nestor of the Navy," and was described by those who were acquainted with him "as one of the greatest Ornaments of his Age."

Among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library is a contemporary account of Mr. Pepys, which is of great interest, and was evidently drawn up by some one well acquainted with the Admiralty. I presume that it was intended as an Obituary notice, but I find no record of its having been printed.

A few extracts from this interesting "Obituary notice" will show in what high esteem Mr. Pepys was held by those who understood his life's work.

Upon this happy event [the Restoration] he was instantly made one of the principal officers of the Navy under the stile of clerk of the acts and in that employment continued till the year 1673 rendering great service to the nation, by his extraordinary vigilance and assiduity, during that whole space; but in a yet more eminent degree, under the sad concurrent emergencies of the plague, the fire and the Dutch war during a great part whereof the service being generally abandon'd, the weight of the Navy rested upon him alone. In 1673, his Majesty taking the direction of the Admiralty into his own hands, called Mr. Pepys to his more immediate service, as Secretary for all affairs of that office, in which important post he also acquitted himself in so distinguishing a manner as together with his firm adherence to the interest of his Prince, the Royal family and the Church of England drew upon him the envy and resentment of an adverse party and in the turbulent juncture of the Popish Plot procured his being committed to the Tower, where he was kept a close prisoner till by course of law no one offering to appear against him, he was unavoidably acquitted.

The history of the last periods (comprehended from his confinement in the

Tower to the withdrawing of K. James II in December 1688) having for what concerns the administration of the Admiralty and Navy and the part borne by him therein being fully and elegantly delivered by himself in his memoirs published 1690, we refer the reader for his more ample satisfaction thereto with the addition of this single remark to the honour of Mr. Pepys's general conduct under the last mentioned reign that in a time of such eminent trial and whilst so many others fell under the temptation of gratifying their ambitions and other passions by their indulgent councils and unhappy compliances he who stood one of the most conspicuous in the knowledge, esteem, and affection of the King was never found accepting much less craving any one grant of honour or Profit or interposing in any one affair of the State other than what directly fell within his Province as Secretary of the Admiralty.

Upon the Accession of K. William and Queen Mary to the Crown he let fall his employment and passing the remainder of his life in a studious retirement without any relaxation, nevertheless of his constant zeal for the service of his country as far as the difficulties of the times allow'd him opportunities for it. . . .

Other years of this fruitful recess he entirely devoted with great application and no small expense to the restoring as far as in him lay, the Government of Christ's Hospital to its pristine purity and preserving the Mathematical Foundations there (designed by him, and through his almost sole solicitations, instituted, endowed and cherished by his two Royal Masters King Charles and King James II) from impending ruin; but with what success his printed letters to and representations to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen as well as to the general Court of that Hospital, are too abundant evidences. By such continued exercises of the mind without any indulgence to age and constitution impaired in its very infancy by the Stone (for which he was cut at about 28 years of age) having brought himself under great infirmities he about two years before his death, left the town, where he had constantly resided, and for the benefit of the air, retired into the country to the seat of his old friend and servant in the Navy William Hewer Esq. at Clapham in Surry where instead of pursuing the end of his removal still persevering in the same studious methods or rather with so much the greater intenseness of how much he was less exposed to interruption he consummated the ruin of his health and by a gradual decay departed this life with a most christian resignation and perfect tranquility of mind the 26th day of May aforementioned. The 4th of June following his body was conveyed to London with a decent pomp suitable to his character and deposited in the same

vault with his Lady in the church of St. Olave's Hart Street in Crutched Fryars being the parish wherein he had longest inhabited, upon occasion of his employment in the Navy. . . .

Besides this he was a person of universal worth and in great estimation among the literati and men of Science for his unbounded Reading, his sound judgement, his great elocution,¹ his inimitable stile, his mastery in method, his singular curiosity and his uncommon munificence towards the advancement of Learning, Arts, and industry in all degrees. . . .

After this, occasional references to Pepys are to be found in the memoirs of his time, but he had become merely a name to the world at large.

It is much to the honour of the Admiralty that the name of Pepys has always been cherished in that office. He is said to have been "without exception the greatest and most useful Minister that ever filled the same situations in England, the acts and registers of the Admiralty proving this beyond contradiction." Is it possible for any man to receive higher praise from one of the greatest of our Government Offices?

From the First Lord to the junior clerk the name of Samuel Pepys has been honoured for all these years, and at Whitehall his fame is now as bright as ever. The thought of such fame would have satisfied Pepys's soul if he could have dared to hope for it before his death. It would have repaid him for all the disappointments of his life. He has indeed been avenged against the persecution of his virulent enemies.

We must not forget that Pepys's fame has also been kept alive by his College, by the Trinity House, by the Clothworkers' Company, and by the Royal Society.

It was not until 1724 that Pepys's Library was removed to Magdalene, on the death of his heir, John Jackson. This added somewhat to his fame, but only among a select few. Those who visited the

¹ This reference to Pepys's "elocution" is of interest as I have not seen it referred to in any other place.

Library were able to appreciate its merits, and the name of Pepys was added to a long list of judicious collectors. Dr. Byrom of Manchester, an enthusiast respecting shorthand, sent his friend Peter Leycester to see the series of books on shorthand and report to him. A century, however, was to pass before the name of Pepys was to become a household word.

William Upcott when staying at Wotton to inspect the manuscripts there discovered John Evelyn's Diary, which was printed in 1818. This work was received with much favour, and was the immediate cause of the publication of Pepys's Diary. In Evelyn's Diary there are many references to his personal friend Samuel Pepys, and these seem to have attracted the attention of the Master of Magdalene (George Neville-Grenville) to the somewhat mysterious six volumes in shorthand carefully preserved in the Pepysian Library. He took the opportunity of a visit of his distinguished kinsman, Lord Grenville, who as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was acquainted with secret "characters," to bring the MS. under his notice. Lord Grenville puzzled over its pages, and left a translation of a few of these, an alphabet, as well as a list of arbitrary signs, for the use of the decipherer that was to be. These aids to his work were handed to John Smith, an undergraduate at St. John's, who undertook to decipher the whole. He began his labours in the spring of 1819, and completed them in April 1822, having thus worked for nearly three years, usually for twelve or thirteen hours a day. The shorthand used by Pepys was that of Thomas Shelton, author of *Tachygraphy*, 1641, and other books on his shorthand, although Lord Braybrooke was under the impression that it resembled Rich's system. This impression put some persons on a wrong scent, and it is affirmed that two friends in America who usually corresponded with each other in more modern and briefer systems of shorthand, mastered that of Rich out of interest in Pepys. In 1825 Pepys's Diary was published under the editorship of Lord Braybrooke, and an entirely new man was introduced to the public.

II

The fame of the great official had faded away, and a new fame was inaugurated which has gone on growing from year to year. Readers who were delighted with the confessions cared but little for the revelations in the Diary of Pepys's wonderful growth in official knowledge united with strength of character, and have been too apt to treat him with a friendly familiarity wanting in proper respect. Gradually we are beginning to unite the two apparently inconsistent characters and see the greatness of the man. It is always interesting to discover how a classic was received when it was first published. We can do this in Pepys's case by looking up the Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews. In the former Scott reviewed the book, and Jeffrey did the same in the latter.¹ Both these distinguished men recognized the value of Pepys's official work, and both appreciated the importance of the information contained in the Diary, but neither appear to have realized the extreme value of the book as we do now. Tit-bits are quoted, but the uniqueness of the contents is not dwelt upon with any fervour. Scott was quite satisfied with Lord Braybrooke's view as to the necessity of omissions, and infers that it is possible to have too much of a good thing.

Coleridge was one of the first thoroughly to appreciate the Diary, and his Marginalia on some of the passages in it² are very much to the purpose. It is most deplorable that Charles Lamb seems to have overlooked it. Surely if he had read its pages he would have revelled in them, and left us several charming essays on the many incidents which would have enchanted him. We all know how fervent an admirer Pepys had in Macaulay.

¹ "Quarterly Review," xxxiii, 264; "Edinburgh Review," xliii, 54.

² "Notes and Queries," First Series, vi, 213.

Soon after the publication of the Diary Thomas Creevey visited the Pepysian Library and wrote as follows:

1834 July 5. I am full of the impression left upon me by the sight of that unrivall'd library left by Pepys to Magdalene College. I believe the exquisite charms that are to be found in it, are to this day, almost unknown to the world. You remember Pepys's Memoirs . . . the manuscript of which I had in my hand; but these are almost trash compared to other contents of this library. There are 5 folio volumes of prints, almost from the origin of printing, being the portraits of every royal or public man, woman or child down to Pepys's own time. I could scarce tear myself away from them, and even these are nothing compared to all the other curiosities.¹

Lord Braybrooke's edition of the Diary continued to be published, and soon became a classic, but there was an uneasy feeling among the public that there was much they would like to see which was still left in manuscript.

About the year 1873 it was reported that the Rev. Mynors Bright, then President of Magdalene, had made a completely new transcript of the Diary, and in 1875 he commenced the publication of his edition, which was completed in 1879. I made the Index to this edition, and in making it I was so impressed with the want of annotation that I compiled my little book, "Samuel Pepys and the World he lived in." Robert Stevenson wrote his admirable essay on Pepys in the "Cornhill Magazine" for July 1881, and this article may be said to form a point in the chronology of Pepys's fame.

In 1882 a meeting of the Members of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society was held in the Church of St. Olave, Hart Street, when I read a paper on Pepys and his surroundings. At the end of the meeting several of the visitors put the question which had often been asked of the Rector—where is Pepys's monument? To this there was no answer, but the opportunity was taken, after consultation with the

¹ "The Creevey Papers," vol. ii, p. 280.

Rector (the Rev. Alfred Povah) and Sir Owen Roberts, then Clerk to the Clothworkers' Company, to call a meeting to consider the best means of removing this reproach. A committee was formed of the chief representatives of the institutions with which Pepys was connected, viz., the Master of the Trinity House (H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh), the Deputy Master of the Trinity House, the Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, the President of the Royal Society, the Secretary of the Admiralty, the Lord Mayor, the Master of the Clothworkers' Company, the Rector of St. Olave's, and some others, with Sir Owen Roberts as Treasurer, and Henry B. Wheatley as Hon. Sec.

The first meeting of the Committee was held on Wednesday 5 July 1882, in the Vestry of St. Olave's, with the Hon. and Rev. the Master of Magdalene in the Chair. A subscription was set on foot for the purpose of raising a suitable monument to Samuel Pepys in the church he attended for many years, and where his body is buried. The late Sir Arthur Blomfield, architect to St. Olave's Church, was so good as to design the monument, which was executed by Mr. Earp. It is similar in style to one erected in the church of St. Dunstan in the West, in honour of the Rev. Thomas White, D.D., founder of Sion College. Pepys's monument was placed on the wall, where formerly was situated the gallery set up for the accommodation of the Commissioners of the Navy. Pepys's eyes are looking towards the monument of Mrs. Pepys to which the tablet is opposite.

A sufficient list of subscriptions was obtained, largely by the energy of the Treasurer, who took the greatest interest in the scheme. It was originally proposed that a marble bust should be prepared and deposited in the Guildhall Library, but the funds at the disposal of the Committee were found to be quite insufficient for this purpose.

The monument was unveiled on 18 March 1884 by the Deputy Master of the Trinity House (Captain Webb). Lord Northbrook, First Lord of the Admiralty, had promised to attend, but at the last moment he was prevented by urgent official business. He wrote to the American

Minister (Mr. Russell Lowell), who had been asked by the Secretary to speak on the occasion:

I was anxious to give my testimony to the merits of Pepys as an Admiralty official leaving his literary merits to you. He was concerned with the administration of the Navy from the Restoration to the Revolution, and from 1673 as Secretary. I believe his merits to be fairly stated in a contemporary account which I send.

Mr. Lowell gave a charming address which placed Pepys's merits in a very agreeable light.

The unveiling of this monument may be considered as showing a great advance in Pepys's fame. It was the first public expression of the general opinion upon the claims of the Diarist to a high position in the History and Literature of England. The attendance was considerable, and the Press was unanimous in approval of the honour done to Pepys.

"Punch" gave a continuation of the Diary dated from Elysium. After expressing his delight at the news the Diarist goes "home to my bower in Asphodel Meadow." George Augustus Sala expatiated in his well-known manner in the "Illustrated London News," and "The Times" blessed the movement in a leading article.

In 1893 the publication of my edition of the Diary commenced and was finished in 1896.

In 1897 I had the honour of delivering two lectures on Pepys, the first at Clothworkers' Hall in February, the month in which he was born, and the second at Magdalene College in May, the month of his death.

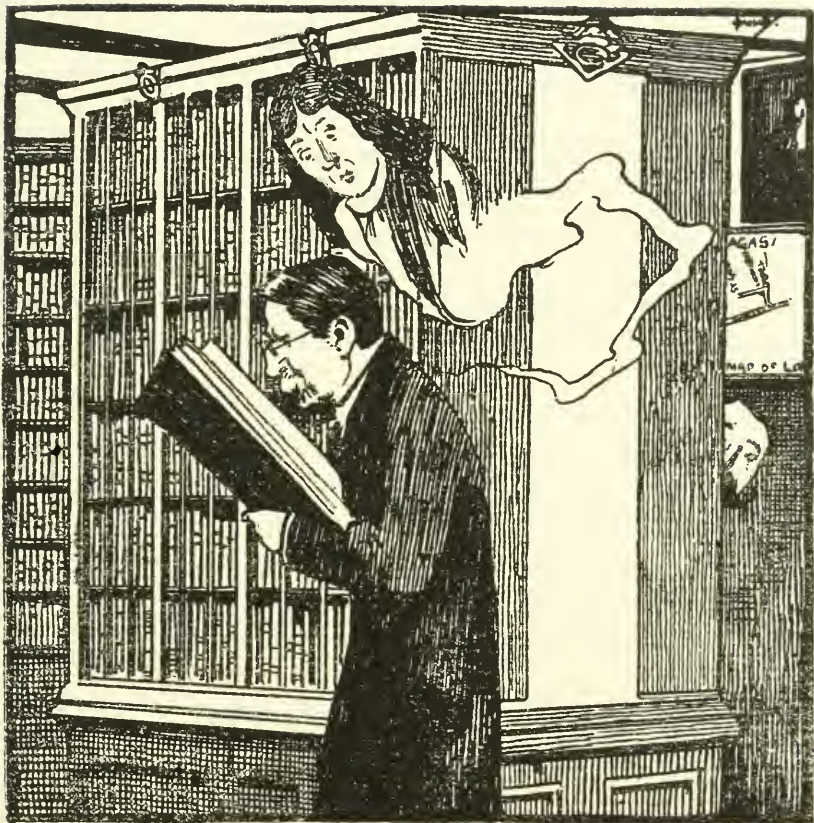
The ground was thus prepared for a fitting celebration of the Bicentenary in 1903, and Sir Frederick Bridge was to the fore with a course of three lectures at the Royal Institution in January, on the musical side of Mr. Pepys's life, which shortly afterwards took the form of a valuable work entitled, "Samuel Pepys, Lover of Musique"—

dedicated to our Club by its indefatigable member, who has made our dinners such a brilliant success by his production of a continuous selection of beautiful contemporary music. I followed suit in February by sending out our hero's portrait as a birthday card to friends and well-known Pepysians. Dr. Tanner commenced his invaluable Calendar of Pepys's Official Letters, with learned essays on Naval Matters dedicated "to the Memory of Samuel Pepys, a great public servant." I had some correspondence with the Master of Magdalene (Lord Braybrooke) as to a public celebration of the Bicentenary, and he expressed his opinion that any action which might be taken should be initiated by the College, but difficulties arose as to how this could be brought about, and nothing further was done as to a public celebration. The main result was the formation of the Samuel Pepys Club.

Through the kindness of the Clothworkers' Company and the lively interest of Sir Owen Roberts, then Clerk of the Company, the Inaugural Dinner on 1 December 1903 was held in its noble hall, and was what it could not fail to be—a brilliant success.

On the previous 23rd of June I had read a paper before the Sette of Odd Volumes on "Samuel Pepys at Cambridge," for which occasion Brother Hassall, Limner, designed the illustration on the opposite page.

In the year 1905 the Master and Fellows of Magdalene accomplished a worthy act by establishing an annual dinner on Pepys's birthday, a custom which was continued until 1914. It is to be hoped that when the peace of the world is again restored these delightful dinners in honour of one of the college's chief benefactors may be renewed. This graceful recognition of a distinguished alumnus is closely associated with the important activities of the late Master, Dr. Donaldson, whose loss we all so deeply deplore. I was invited to the first banquet on 23 February 1905, but unfortunately for myself I was prevented from leaving London on that day. There were in all ten meetings



THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY, MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

(With the spirit of Pepys hovering over the reader of his
Diary. From a Drawing by John Hassall, R.I.)

(1905-14), and I had the honour of being present at half that number in 1906, 1908, 1910, 1912, and 1914.¹

One distinguishing feature of these dinners was the specialization of the subjects dealt with by the speakers. The Navy, Science, Education, Music, Libraries, etc., were among the subjects successively dealt with.

1. At the first dinner in 1905 the Master of Trinity, Sir Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, Sir Archibald Geikie, Sir Richard Jebb, and Messrs. Edmund Gosse and Austin Dobson were among the guests.

Mr. Gosse, in the course of his speech, read some appropriate lines on Pepys, which Mr. Dobson had addressed to him.² They are as follows:

To E. G.

ON PEPYS'S DIARY

You ask me what was his intent?
In truth I can't conjecture;
'Tis plain enough he neither meant
A Sermon nor a Lecture.

But there it is, the thing 's a fact.
I find no other reason
But that some scribbling itch attacked
Him in and out of season,

To write what no one else should read—
With this, for second meaning,
To "cleanse his bosom" (and indeed
It sometimes wanted cleaning);

¹ I sincerely thank Dr. Arthur C. Benson for his kindness in giving me the accurate dates of the dinners and the names of the guests. I have myself the lists of guests at some of the dinners.

² My friend, Mr. Dobson, kindly allows me to print these delightful verses.

To speak, as 'twere, his private mind
 Unhindered by repression,
 To make his motley life a kind
 Of Midas' ears confession;

And thus outgrew this work *per se*—
 This queer, kaleidoscopic,
 Delightful, blabbing, vivid, free
 Hotch-pot of daily topic,

So artless in its vanity,
 So fleeting, so eternal,
 So packed with "poor Humanity"—
 We know as Pepys his journal.

2. 23 February 1906. Among the guests were the Earl of Sandwich, Lord Rayleigh, Lord Howard de Walden, Lord Braybrooke (the visitor), Dr. Armitage Robinson (then Dean of Westminster), the Rev. Dr. Warre, Provost of Eton, Admiral Sir Edmund Fremantle, Capt. Sir George Vyvyan, late Deputy Master of the Trinity House, Sir George Darwin, Sir Sidney Lee, the Master of Peterhouse, Provost of King's, Sir T. Clifford Allbutt, Dr. Tanner, Mr. Purnell, and the Registry (J. W. Clark).

The speakers to the memory of Samuel Pepys were Lord Rayleigh, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, Sir Edmund Fremantle, and Sir Sidney Lee.

Professor Newton (Senior Fellow) presided at the second table, but this was his last attendance as he died early in the following year, greatly lamented by all who knew him. He had for many years been the chief authority on Pepys in the College, and he largely helped me in many ways.

3. 25 February 1907 (Music). Among the guests were Lord Stamfordham, Sir Walter Parratt, Dr. C. H. Lloyd, Dr. Rootham, Sir George Darwin, and Mr. Adeane.

4. 24 February 1908 (Navy and Education). Among the guests were the Master of Trinity, Sir Aston Webb, R.A., the Public Orator (Sir John Sandys), the Right Hon. Arthur Cohen, Sir Robert Ball, Dr. Tanner, Prof. Foxwell, Mr. W. A. Cockerell, and Mr. S. P. Cockerell.

The speakers to "the memory of Samuel Pepys" were Sir Evan MacGregor, G.C.B., Admiral Sir Lambton Loraine, Dr. Hillard, High Master of St. Paul's School, and Dr. Upcott, Head Master of Christ's Hospital. These speeches were of great interest owing to the fresh information contained in them.

5. 23 February 1909. Among the guests were the Earl of Lytton, Sir William White, Sir Frederick Bridge, Bishop of Wakefield, Rev. A. B. Boyd-Carpenter, and Mr. Edmund Gosse.

6. 23 February 1910. Earl of Dartmouth, F.M. Lord Grenfell, Sir William Osler, Mr. A. B. Walkley, and Mr. H. R. Tedder were among the guests.

7. 23 February 1911. F. M. Lord Grenfell, Mr. Harold Cox, Dr. J. W. Mackail, Mr. H. Belloc, and Mr. G. K. Chesterton were among the guests.

8. 20 February 1912 (250th anniversary of the Royal Society). Sir Archibald Geikie, P.R.S., Sir F. Darwin, Prof. J. J. Thomson, Prof. Nuttall, Prof. Newall, Sir Clifford Allbutt, Master of Trinity, Master of Christ's, Mr. D'Arcy Power were among the guests. The President of the Royal Society and the Master of Christ's spoke to "the memory of Samuel Pepys."

Pepys's occupation of the chair of the Royal Society was well commemorated during the Society's anniversary. The meeting of the College commenced the recognition at the beginning of the year, and the Samuel Pepys Club celebrated it at the end. Sir Archibald Geikie spoke on the subject at both dinners, and did justice to the merits of a predecessor of his own in that eminent position.

9. 24 February 1913 (Librarians). The Earl of Plymouth, Sir Frederic Kenyon, Sir Aston Webb, R.A., Mr. Madan (Bodley's

Librarian), and Mr. F. W. Cornish, Vice Provost of Eton were among the guests.

10. 23 February 1914 (Music). Prof. Sir Charles Stanford spoke to "the memory of Samuel Pepys."

Lord Braybrooke (visitor), Lord Courtney of Penwith, Dr. Jenkinson, Master of Caius, Provost of King's, Prof. Housman, Dr. Somervell, and Mr. Dolmetsch were among the guests.

Our member, Mr. E. K. Purnell, kindly sent me the following interesting examination paper which was set at Wellington College for 22 July 1908:

PEPYS' DIARY

1. Briefly summarise the main events of Pepys's career both during and after the period covered by the Diary.
2. What did Pepys owe to Lord Sandwich at the outset of his life? Describe that nobleman's character and career.
3. "A single page of his Diary shows that Pepys possessed head, heart, and humour, in the happiest compound." Discuss this criticism, illustrating your points by a few reminiscences from the book.
4. Give statistics from Pepys of the mortality during the Plague: quote a few stories from him shewing the terror of the time.
5. Infer from Pepys' many notices of them his estimate of the character of:
(a) Charles II (b) James, Duke of York.
6. Describe the breakdown of *organisation* at the Great Fire. How did Pepys set an example of business-like methods at that crisis?

It will take time before we are able to induce the general public to understand that Mr. Pepys was a man to be treated with great respect, and that although the Diary is to be cherished as a great treasure we must acknowledge it to be as Dr. Tanner asserted a bye product of his genius, realizing that the writer's life as a whole was the life of a man whose name is written in our history.

G. A. Sala clearly understood this in 1884 when he wrote:

As a matter of fact, the rare administrative tact, the indefatigable industry, and the unblemished probity of Samuel Pepys saved the British Navy from falling to pieces. Our gallant tars fought the Dutch upon the sea. The equally gallant Pepys, on dry land fought venality, mismanagement, and corruption. His reward was to be accused of being a Papist, to be arrested on suspicion of being implicated in the Popish Plot, and to be turned out of all his employments at the Revolution; and when he died the State was his debtor to the tune of eight and twenty thousand pounds, an amount which the State did not find it convenient to pay.

Public opinion respecting the distinguished services of Pepys to his country has greatly advanced since 1884, when a leader writer in "The Times," who greatly admired him, could write:

It is like trying to paint the lily to comment upon Mr. Lowell's delicate analysis of the charm which belongs to Pepys's Diary. Pepys is not a great man, nor a great writer, nor a great humourist, nor a great moralist, nor indeed anything great at all. But notwithstanding all this and more that might be said in the same strain, he is the writer of one of the most delightful books that ever was penned.

We know that Pepys was a great public servant. The late Lord Welby said at one of our dinners that he was one of England's greatest civil servants, and no one could be a greater authority than Lord Welby, for he was a great civil servant himself. Pepys was also an administrator on the largest scale.

Mr. Wilbur C. Abbott has lately written a masterly estimate of Pepys in an article entitled "The Serious Pepys" ("Yale Review," April 1914), for which all true Pepysians will be grateful, and the title of his paper is not the least part of our indebtedness to him, as he helps us to understand that Pepys should be taken seriously, for to him life was a serious obligation, and he stuck to his task to the last.

The series of articles which, under the title of "The New Pepys,"

have for some time appeared in "Truth," is a further proof of the universality of the Diarist's fame.¹

Our Club may be considered as a sort of Missionary Society to educate the public to understand that they are wrong in treating Pepys with affection, tempered with a lack of respect.

In support of this point may I venture to remind our Members of the three great undertakings he carried through successfully.

1. Although Pepys managed to make a successful defence of the Navy Office at the bar of the House of Commons, he saw clearly the faults that required to be remedied. He therefore induced the Duke of York to call the members of the Board to account, in consequence of which a great improvement in business procedure was made.

2. He obtained from James II a special Commission to reconstitute the Navy Office, and supersede all the officials for a fixed period. The whole history of his action in this successful achievement proves the immense strength and resolution of the man.

3. He rebuilt and restored the English Navy just before the Revolution. Further, Professor Firth reminds me that "the fleet which did such service to England during the war which followed the Revolution was that which had been reorganized and repaired by Mr. Samuel Pepys."

H. B. W.

¹ The articles on the War have been published as "A Diary of the Great Warr, by Sam^l Pepys jun. London (John Lane) 1916."

XVII

COMPLETE LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE CLUB FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN 1903

*The names of those who are no longer members, with the date of their resignation, are
printed in italics, whilst a dagger is added to those who are dead*

Honorary Members

† *MISS COCKERELL.*

† *THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SANDWICH.*

Ex-officio

THE MASTER OF MAGDALENE, MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAM-
BRIDGE

† *THE REV. LORD BRAYBROOKE*, 1903-4

† *THE REV. S. A. DONALDSON, D.D.*, 1904-15

ARTHUR C. BENSON, LL.D., C.V.O., 1915-

THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY

THE PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY

THE MASTER OF THE CLOTHWORKERS' COMPANY

THE DEPUTY MASTER OF THE TRINITY HOUSE

Ordinary Members

1907 Ashton, Arthur J., K.C.	1903 <i>Birdwood, Sir George, K.C.S.I.</i>
†1903 <i>Atlay, J. B.</i> 1912	1910
†1903 <i>Bacon, His Honour Judge.</i> 1911	1903 <i>Bodvel-Roberts, H. O.</i> 1906
1903 Bell, Edward	†1903 <i>Bousfield, Sir William.</i> 1910
†1903 <i>Bevan, Paul.</i> 1907	1903 <i>Boyd-Carpenter, Rev. A. B.</i>
1903 Binnie, Sir Alexander	1904

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- 1903 *Brandt, R. E.* 1905
 1903 *Bridge, Sir Frederick, C.V.O., Mus.D.*
 1905 *Bridge, Joseph Cox, D.Mus.*
 1903 *Bridge, Reginald T.* 1907
 1903 *Castle, Egerton.* 1908
 †1908 *Chatterton, George.* 1910
 1906 *Cholmeley, H. P., M.D.*
 1903 *Clarke, Sir Ernest*
 1912 *Clarke, Ernest, F.R.C.S.*
 1903 *Cockerell, John Pepys.* 1905
 1903 *Cockerell, S. Pepys*
 †1903 *Cockerell, S. Pepys, Jun.* 1915
 1914 *Corbett, Julian S.*
 1903 *Crawford, Sir Homewood*
 †1903 *Critchett, Charles.* 1906
 †1903 *Cummings, William H., Mus.D.*
 1912
 1903 *Cust, Lionel, C.V.O.*
 †1903 *Dabbs, Dr. G. H. R.* 1907
 1903 *Davison, William Henry*
 1904 *Dillon, Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount*
 †1905 *Elgar, Dr. Francis, F.R.S.,*
 1909
 1903 *Evans P. MacIntyre*
 1914 *Firth, Prof. Charles H., LL.D., Litt.D.*
 1909 *Galloway, James, M.D.*
 1909 *Gaselee, Stephen*
 1903 *Glaisher, Dr. J. W. L., F.R.S.*
 †1903 *Gomme, Sir Laurence.* 1915
 1903 *Gosse, Edmund, C.B., LL.D.*
 1904
 1913 *Gordon, J. G.*
 1910 *Graham, W. Vaux*
 1903 *Green, Sir Francis Haydn, Bt.*
 1912 *Grenfell, Field-Marshal Lord, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.*
 1913 *Griffith, H. E.*
 1903 *Guthrie, Leonard, M.D.*
 1907 *Harris, F. R.*
 1903 *Hill, Arthur F.*
 1906 *Hill, R. H. Ernest*
 1903 *Hobson, Geoffrey Darley*
 †1903 *Hodgkin, J. Eliot.* 1912
 1909 *Horne, Alderson Burrell*
 1916 *Hovenden, Henry Edward*
 1903 *Johnson, Charles Plumptre*
 1914 *Knight, A. Charles*
 †1903 *Knight, Joseph.* 1907
 1903 *Lafontaine, H. C. de*
 †1903 *Laughton, Sir John Knox.* 1908
 1907 *Lee, Colonel Sir Arthur H., K.C.B., M.P.*
 1903 *Lee, Sir Sidney, D.Litt.*
 †1911 *Littleton, Alfred H.* 1914
 1903 *Maclean, Dr. Charles.* 1904
 1903 *Marsh, Swaine Chisenhale*
 1903 *Matthew, J. E.* 1906
 1903 *Meredith, W. M.*
 1903 *Morison, Alexander, M.D.*
 1903 *Norman, Philip, LL.D.*
 1911 *Osler, Sir William, Bt., M.D., F.R.S.*
 1910 *Owen, Sir Douglas*
 1903 *Pemberton, Max.* 1904
 1903 *Pepys, Hon. Everard.* 1909
 1903 *Pepys, George Digby.* 1906
 1903 *Pepys, Walter Evelyn.* 1905
 1906 *Porter, Horace*
 1903 *Power, D'Arcy, F.R.C.S. (Treasurer)*
 †1903 *Price, F. G. Hilton.* 1909

- 1906 Purnell, E. K.
 1903 *Reeves, Hon. W. Pember.* 1904
 1907 *Reynolds, Rev. Prebendary Bernard.* 1908
 †1903 *Robertis, Sir Owen.* 1913
 1908 Sandwich, Earl of (George Montagu)
 1903 Sargeaunt, John
 1907 Scarth, Leveson Edward
 1906 Seaton, A. E.
 1903 Seccombe, Thomas
 1903 *Shadwell, Dr. Arthur.* 1907
 1906 *Sidgwick, Frank.* 1909
 1903 Siemens, Alexander
 1903 *Squire, W. Barclay.* 1906
 1907 Stebbing, Mark
 1903 Sterry, J. Ashby
 1903 Tanner, J. R., Litt.D.
 1903 Thomas, Carmichael
 1905 Thomson, Hugh
 †1903 *Todhunter, Dr. John.* 1913
 1903 Tuffill, Daniel F. (*Auditor*)
 1909 Turner, G. J.
 1913 Wagstaff, W. H.
 †1903 *Walters, Robert.* 1912
 1905 Ward, Sir A. W., Litt.D. (Master of Peterhouse)
 1903 *Watson, J. W.* 1904
 1906 Watts, Sir Philip, K.C.B., F.R.S.
 1909 Weaver, Lawrence
 1903 Whale, George
 1903 Wheatley, Danby R. (*Hon. Sec.*)
 1903 Wheatley, Henry B., D.C.L. (*President*)
 †1909 *White, Sir William, K.C.B., F.R.S.* 1913
 1903 Whiteley, Gerard T.
 †1903 *Wilson, E. D. J.* 1905
 1905 Wolfe-Barry, Sir John, K.C.B., F.R.S.
 †1903 *Wright, Lt.-Col. W. F.* 1906
 †1903 *Young, Sidney.* 1914

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